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U.S. Accused of Developing 'Exotic War Gases'

PM2803094989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[P. Nikolayev article: "...While Others Are Creating 'Exotic' War Gases"]

[Text] THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR recently published an article in which it announced the existence of a Pentagon program to carry out extensive research into "exotic" types of war gas.

One of these new war gases is called "knockout gas." According to its creators, this war gas can physically paralyze people for a certain time. In their opinion, this property can be used very successfully in combat in large buildings. A supposedly "humane aim" is being pursued here—there is no need to use explosive devices causing destruction and fire when employing "knockout" gases.

The U.S. Defense Department requires another group of "exotic" war gases to have a lethal effect with a minimal lethal dosage. Unlike certain types of nerve gas, they should be able to penetrate a gas mask absorber as well as any other filter absorption system based on the use of carbon catalysts. American terminology describes this kind of war gas as "penetrative." According to U.S experts, the appearance in Pentagon arsenals of war gases that can overcome defenses marks a special breakthrough in attaining the aim of creating a chemical superweapon envisaged by the U.S. Defense Department's long-term programs.

This superweapon's creators plan to render useless all existing chemical warfare defense systems in the world's armies. This kind of war gas can hit soldiers who have donned gas masks in a timely fashion or taken refuge in combat vehicles' cabs and gun rooms as well as in engineer shelters equipped with air filter and ventilation defense systems. Defense systems protecting people from the action of this kind of chemical agent have to be based on a quite different principle. People will have to be completely isolated from the environment and supplied with automatic breathing apparatuses. The equipment of a soldier protected against "penetrative" war gas will certainly be reminiscent of a cosmonaut's equipment. Providing armies with this kind of protection will cost vast sums.

The Pentagon has requested $7.2 million for 1990 and $27.7 million for 1991.

The fact that the program for creating "exotic" war gases was made public soon after the successful conclusion of the discussion of the problem of chemical disarmament at the Paris conference and was timed to coincide with the start of the final phase of the Geneva conference to prepare a convention on the complete banning of chemical weapons should not be considered a coincidence.

U.S. militarist circles are clearly trying to slow down the progress of the Geneva talks and are devoting their efforts to impeding the attainment of an accord.

Pact Officials Meet Czechoslovakia's Jakes

LD2403184189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1705 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Prague, 24 March (TASS)—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, today received Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states, and Army General V.N. Lobov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states, who are in Czechoslovakia.

During the conversation, there was an exchange of opinions on the tasks proceeding from the defensive nature of the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states, and also on tasks connected with the necessity of seeking a reduction in the level of military confrontation in Europe on the basis of the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency.

Army General M. Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, took part in the conversation.

CEMA Meeting Held in Moscow 22-24 March

LD2403155189 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—Questions of cooperation in economic organs of the United Nations have been discussed at a meeting of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). It was held at the level of deputy foreign ministers of Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, USSR and Czechoslovakia. The meeting took place in Moscow on March 22-24.

Pact Information Group Meets in Bucharest

PM2803102189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Routine Session"]

[Text] Bucharest, 22 Mar—A routine session of the Multilateral Current Information Group made up of Warsaw Pact representatives was held 21-22 March in the Romanian capital.

The session exchanged opinions and information on certain topical international questions of mutual interest, in particular with regard to East-West relations, the all-European process, and the settlement of regional conflicts.

The participants in the session also exchanged information on the allied states' foreign policy activity and current events in international life.

Gerasimov Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing 28 Mar

Criticizes Cheney Ceremony Remarks

LD2803135289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1215 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar (TASS)—Attention has been paid in the Soviet Union to the speeches by President George Bush and the new U.S. defense secretary, Richard Cheney, at the latter's swearing-in ceremony, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said here today at a briefing. "Constructive ideas were expressed in them about the the need to take advantage of the present favorable opportunities for improving relations with the USSR and promoting the creation of a more peaceful international environment. One can only welcome these goals."

Unfortunately, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman continued, other "strongarm" arguments were to be heard which are difficult to explain other than as a recurrence of the past political thinking that has been rejected by life itself. These concerned primarily attempts to combine the policy of "deterrence" with positive changes occurring in the world.

Also surprising is the statement by Richard Cheney at a news conference on 24 March that "to date there has been no reduction in strategic systems aimed at the United States." But, a reduction in strategic offensive arms is only possible on a reciprocal basis. "So," Gennadiy Gerasimov said, "let's finish work on the agreement for a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive arms under conditions of observance of the ABM Treaty."

The Soviet Union is convinced, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman went on, that the path to international security today lies through restructuring the whole system of international relations on a democratic basis that is common to all mankind. In the very next few years the USSR and the United States have a lot of work to do in this sphere. Accords have to be reached on cutting nuclear and conventional arms, limiting and halting nuclear tests, scrapping chemical weapons, and preventing the spread of mass destruction weapons.

"One would like to hope," Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed, "that these pronouncements by high-ranking U.S. officials are just a kind of tribute to the past and not a declaration about future policy in practice."

Defends Central America Policy

LD2803162589 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—"It was quite natural to expect that in Washington [words indistinct] look with understanding at current tendencies in Central America, which aim at ending the involved and long-running regional conflict. This has not happened, however", Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing here on Tuesday. He commented on the document on the guidelines in the U.S. President and Congress leadership.

Gerasimov noted that the U.S. intention to maintain at the previous level humanitarian aid to the contras until the holding of general elections in Nicaragua in February 1990 "aims to delay the adoption of concrete measures to disband the contras and remove this factor of the destabilisation of the situation in the region".

"We cannot agree [words indistinct], which rang out in President George Bush's special statement, distorting the essence of the USSR's policy in Central America and the nature of the USSR's relations with Cuba and Nicaragua, the attempt to call in doubt the display by the Soviet side of new political thinking in the approach to eliminating seats of international tension in Central America is totally ungrounded", Gerasimov went on.

It is indisputable that there are considerable discrepancies in the USSR and the United States' position on several aspects of a peace process. This applies also to specific measures of both sides' interaction to facilitate a political settlement in the region, primarily those concerning a reduction in military supplies to Central American countries.

"The Soviet side hopes that the exchange of views with the U.S. current administration on Central America, the beginning to which was set by the recent meeting of Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker in Vienna, will be held in the atmosphere of a constructive and weighed discussion of the existing differences on the afore-mentioned issues", Gerasimov stressed.

Updates Namibia Situation

LD2803160189 Moscow TASS in English 1444 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—The foreign ministers of Warsaw Treaty countries will, by mutual agreement, hold a regular meeting in Berlin on April 11 and 12, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing here today.

Commenting on remarks made by U.S. President George Bush and the new United States defence secretary, Richard Cheney, during the latter's swearing-in ceremony, he said one could only welcome their constructive ideas on the need to take advantage of existing favourable opportunities in order to improve relations with the USSR and help create a more peaceful international environment.

But the spokesman also expressed regret at other ideas stressing force, which, he said, are difficult to explain in any other way than as a relapse to old political thinking.

"One would like to hope that the statements by the high-ranking U.S. officials are nothing more than a kind of tribute to the past, and are not a sign of future policy," Gerasimov said.

He went on to say that the Soviet Union, invariably favouring a timely and complete fulfilment of the U.N. plan for Namibia (which provides, among other things, for sending a U.N. transitional assistance group there), is taking an active part in its practical implementation.

In keeping with an agreement with the U.N. Secretariat, the USSR, Gerasimov explained, is involved in carrying UNTAG [UN Transitional Assistance Group] personnel and freight to Namibia by air.

The Soviet airline Aeroflot is currently helping transport UNTAG property from Italy and observers from a number of European countries to Namibia and a tentative understanding has been reached on possible direct Soviet support to the U.N. operation, including supplies of various equipment and transport vehicles to Namibia, the Soviet spokesman continued.

He denied Western media reports that the Soviet Union has opened talks with Pakistan on the construction of a facility to process spent nuclear fuel there and that a relevant agreement will be signed in the next few months.

"The USSR and Pakistan have never conducted and are not conducting any talks on cooperation in building a facility to recycle spent nuclear fuel or in other fields of nuclear activity, nor does there exist any bilateral understanding on this score," Gerasimov said.

Commenting on preliminary returns in the parliamentary elections in the Soviet Union, he said that glasnost and perestroyka have been the winners.

The spokesman stressed that the outcome of the polling can by no means be seen as indicating the party's declining popularity since nearly 80 per cent of the Communists standing in the elections were elected.

Speaking at the same briefing, A.M. Horami, first councillor of the Afghan Embassy in Moscow, told reporters about the military situation in his country, stressing that despite it being complicated, in Kabul they continue to believe that it is still possible to settle the Afghan problem.

"And this possibility lies not on the path of war but on the path of conducting dialogue and forming a broad-based coalition government with the participation of all sides," he said.

China

Qian Qichen Discusses Gorbachev Visit, Ties

LD2703175789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1240 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] Beijing, 27 Mar (TASS)—The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will further the cause of peace in Asia and throughout the world, said PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen.

At a news conference held here in connection with the second session of the Seventh National People's Congress, which is under way, he stressed that the upcoming Soviet-Chinese summit meeting would be of immense significance for the whole world. The leaders of the two countries will discuss issues pertaining to the normalization of USSR-China relations.

At the same time, the minister said considerable progress has been achieved in the area of eliminating barriers on the road to normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. Work in this direction can also be continued after the normalization of relations between the states.

The Soviet leader is to visit China at the invitation of PRC President Yang Shangkun, the minister went on. Naturally, therefore, the normalization of interstate relations will be at the fore. However, while in the PRC he will also meet other Chinese leaders. M.S. Gorbachev is general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Zhao Ziyang is general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. It therefore will be entirely logical for them to meet. As for differences between the two parties, in Qian Qichen's opinion these have always existed and it is not possible to reach complete unity of views immediately.

Appraising the common trends and differences in the implementation of restructuring in the USSR and reform in China, the PRC foreign minister said the situation was not the same in the two countries. Certain features typical of the USSR are not acceptable to China, while certain measures being adopted in the PRC cannot be used in the Soviet Union.

Reduction of USSR, PRC Armed Forces Noted

OW2803002889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 17 Mar 89

[From the "World Today" program]

[Text] Soviet military policy is formulated on the basis of the principle of maintaining an adequate level of defense. The number of men and weapons the Soviet Union maintains are for the purpose of preventing an unexpected invasion. The Soviet Union simply does not intend to have military superiority. This attitude to its military policy is part of the new political thinking. Addressing a UN General Assembly session late last year, Soviet leader Gorbachev said: We saw a historic possibility for forsaking excessive armament and beginning to implement the principle of sufficient defense.

Now, we are seeing the first sign of safeguarding security [words indistinct], namely, instead of relying on (?building) military strength as we had done in the past, efforts have been made to reduce the Armed Forces on the basis of compromise in order to safeguard security.

The principle of having just enough to meet defense needs makes it possible to make substantial cuts in armaments and lower the level of military confrontation. Instead of undermining security, this principle is conducive to security.

Based on this principle, the USSR has agreed to destroy the nuclear missiles deployed in Soviet Asia in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The Soviet Union has decided not to increase the number of any type of nuclear weapon in the Asia-Pacific region. The Soviet Union has reduced its Armed Forces in the east by 200,000 men and in the south by 60,000. Soviet troops have started to withdraw from Mongolia. Soviet troops deployed near the Sino-Soviet border areas will be reorganized to become forces for defense purposes only.

During the process of normalization of Sino-Soviet relations, the USSR attaches great importance to military relaxation and [words indistinct]. These issues were discussed when Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen visited the USSR late last year and when Soviet Foreign Minister Shervardnadze visited China early this year. Both sides maintained that it was important to reduce, as much as possible, armed forces and nuclear weapons—including [words indistinct] deployed near the Sino-Soviet border areas. It is important that progress be made on this important issue at the Sino-Soviet summit scheduled to be held in May.

Listeners: China also reduced its Armed Forces not long ago. Beginning this year, China has (?substantially increased its) expenditures on [words indistinct] and capital construction. It has also been reported that, for the first time in many years, India has also reduced its military budget. Without doubt, initial successes have already been achieved in easing military tension in the Asia-Pacific region. Unfortunately, the United States and Japan are not ready to join this constructive endeavor.

Sino-Soviet Maritime Cooperation Increasing

OW2803071089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Dear listeners, now let us talk about cooperation between maritime shipping units of the Soviet Union and China. We invite Arnov, responsible person of the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, to brief us on the situation in this field.

[Begin recording] [Arnov, in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] We handle problems of maritime shipping and trade between the Soviet Union and China according to a bilateral agreement that took effect on 25 July 1958. According to this agreement, the two countries should give most favorable treatment to each other on all problems concerning maritime shipping. This most favorable treatment includes the two countries rescuing each other's vessels in distress, the two countries recognizing [words indistinct] of each other's ships, and cooperation between sailor organizations of the two countries. [end recording]

Increased maritime trade between the two countries in recent years can be seen from the following figures: The two countries shipped out 3.58 million tonnes of goods in 1986; the figure reached 4.1 million tonnes in 1987; and approached 6 million tonnes in 1988. Goods shipped from the Soviet Union to China included timber, fertilizer, machinery, equipment, and [words indistinct]; and goods shipped from China to the Soviet Union included [words indistinct]. In 1987, nearly 400 Soviet freighters called at Chinese ports. Soviet passenger ships have also called at Chinese ports in recent years.

Arnov added that the two countries have begun to accelerate cooperation in ship repair. However, the amount of work in this field is still small. Chinese shipyards repaired 16 Soviet ships in 1988, and another [number indistinct] Soviet ships are scheduled to be repaired in the first 3 months of this year.

Maritime shipping work between the two countries is coordinated by the Permanent Transportation Group of the Sino-Soviet Government Committee for Economic, Trade, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation. The permanent representative offices of the two countries' maritime shipping companies, which were set up in Shanghai and Odessa in 1987, are responsible for handling routine maritime shipping problems between the two countries.

Arnov went on to say that the Soviet Ministry of the Maritime Fleet plans to exhibit Soviet maritime shipping products at a Soviet exhibition to be held in Beijing soon. The ministry will display the Soviet Union's achievements in building new types of merchant ships, freighters, passenger ships, and [words indistinct]. We hope our (?confidence) will contribute to strengthening maritime shipping cooperation between the two countries.

Chinese Journalists Visit PRAVDA Office

LD2903083589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] People in many countries of the world are following with interest the course of restructuring in our country and in China, from where a delegation of the All-China Journalists Association has arrived.

Today the delegation, led by Comrade Tan Wenrui, vice chairman of the association and editor in chief of the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, visited the editorial office of the newspaper PRAVDA. Comrade Afanasyev, editor in chief, told the guests about the main tasks of the present stage of restructuring, and about the problems and ways of resolving them. The Chinese journalists were also greatly interested by information about the work of the PRAVDA collective.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified journalist] Important reforms in politics and the economy are under way in the USSR and China. What, in your view, is the role of the press under these conditions?

[Tan Wenrui] Our main task is to explain to people the party's course and policy in the implementation of reform. Speaking in Chinese political terms, we must promote the formulation of new points of view. In the Soviet Union, you call this the new political thinking.

[Unidentified journalist] What contribution can the press make to the development of the traditional friendship between our countries and to deepening mutual understanding between our peoples?

[Tan Wenrui] Interest in the restructuring in your country is very great in China. I understand that Soviet people are also very interested in the changes taking place in China. It is the task of journalists to describe objectively and in detail the life of our countries. [end recording]

Heilongjiang Delegation Visits RSFSR

LD2903035489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] A delegation of the Foreign Relations Committee of China's Heilongjiang Province that arrived in Moscow yesterday on an official visit at the invitation of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Foreign Ministry, met representatives of the State Planning Committee of the Russian Federation today.

The expanding Soviet-Chinese contacts in various spheres will without doubt receive new impetus during businesslike meetings and conversations at the RSFSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and the republic's Ministry of the River Fleet, where talks will be held today. The program for the guests' stay in the Soviet capital also envisages a visit by the delegation to (Rosvneshtorg).

Khabarovsk, Heilongjiang Exchange Travelers

OW2803114189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 23 Mar 89

[From the "How Are You, China" program]

[Text] According to the Khabarovsk paper, the PACIFIC STAR, the Khabarovsk branch of the State Travel and Tourism Bureau of the USSR reached an agreement with the Heilongjiang Travel and Tourism Bureau on the direct exchange of travelers. The exchange will be conducted in a way that travelers from both sides need not use foreign exchange to pay for expenses. Specifics of the new services are being studied in detail.

Thus far, three groups of Chinese tourists have visited Khabarovsk and three groups of Soviet tourists from the Soviet Far East have visited scenic spots in Heilongjiang. All the visits have been made in border areas.

According to the paper, formalities for visiting each other's country have substantially been simplified on both sides. If a Chinese citizen wants to visit the USSR, all he need do is show his citizen certificate, proof that he has not committed any crime, a traveling (?permit), and approximately 150 yuan renminbi, including the amount that will have to be converted into rubles.

Soviet-Chinese Cultural Activities Discussed

OW2903013389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Report on interview with (Muyinaya), member of the Central Council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, by station reporter; date and place of interview not given—recorded]

[Text] A meeting of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries ended on 22 March. The meeting adopted a document on the new principle of the union's activities. A station reporter interviewed Comrade (Muyinaya), member of the Central Council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, on the new document.

[(Muyinaya), in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] The new document on the principle of our union's activities improves important parts of our work. The Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries is expanding its activities in several directions. I shall mention only a few of them.

First, the union will expand effective cooperation with all countries and public bodies that advocate the establishment of a nonviolent and nuclear-free world, no matter what kind of social system they represent. In this regard, the union will develop ties with national, regional, and international social organizations that are an authority in their own special field and with educational and scientific societies. Of course, we expect our partners, including China, to provide effective assistance in this regard. The union will carefully study and support any interesting suggestion on current global issues from the public in the Soviet Union or abroad. The union will create conditions to promote contacts between Soviet enterprises and organizations and their foreign counterparts and increase direct ties in economic, scientific and technological, and cultural areas.

The Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries attaches particular importance to the development of contacts between students who have graduated from Soviet schools and their own societies, and especially to Soviet-Sino contacts in this regard. We also attach great importance to the work being carried out by foreign experts. Recently the Soviet Union has extensively expanded economic, scientific, and technological ties with other countries, including China, bringing more and more foreign experts to work in the Soviet Union. This work aims at improving friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples of different countries.

One more thing: Bilateral and regional plans will be taken into consideration when the union plans cooperation with the public in foreign countries. The union takes the characteristics of every country and the whole region into consideration in drawing up these plans. These plans are completely related to the activities of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, as well as contacts with our Chinese counterparts.

PRC Protests U.S. 'Interference' Over Tibet

PM2803125589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS reports under general heading: "Protest Lodged"]

[Text] Beijing, 23 Mar—The National People's Congress Foreign Affairs Committee has expressed extreme indignation and resolute protest in connection with the resolution on the Tibet question adopted by the U.S. Senate 16 March.

The committee statement, disseminated by XINHUA, emphasizes that the U.S. Senate's so-called resolution distorts the history and present-day realities of China's Tibet Autonomous Region and slanderously accuses the PRC Government of repressions and human rights violations in Tibet, frankly supporting violent actions by a handful of separatists and demanding that the U.S. Administration and international organizations interfere in Tibet's affairs.

China hopes, the statement emphasizes, that, proceeding from the common interests of Sino-U.S. relations, the U.S. Congress will cease all actions aimed at interference in the PRC's internal affairs.

Washington, 23 Mar—PRC Ambassador to the United States Han Xu has lodged with the Department of State a protest by the Chinese Government in connection with the U.S. Senate resolution on the Tibet question. The Chinese Government, the protest note says, is resolutely against any attempts on any pretext to interfere in the affairs of Chinese Tibet and to support separatist actions.

Beijing, 23 Mar—Liu Shan, Chinese envoy to the European Community, lodged in Strasbourg a protest by the PRC Government in connection with a resolution "On

Human Rights in Tibet" adopted by the European Parliament. The Tibet question, the statement says, is China's internal affair. Any sovereign state is entitled to take the measures that have been taken by the PRC Government.

NPC Hears Li on Economy, Wang Fang on Crime

PM2803111189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Chinese National People's Congress Session"]

[Text] Beijing, 24 Mar—Definite success has been achieved in improving China's economic position, Li Peng, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee and premier of the PRC State Council, has said at the Chinese National People's Congress [NPC] here. However, he pointed out when speaking to a group of deputies from Shanghai, these successes must not be overestimated.

The State Council and local organs of power at various levels, the head of the PRC Government stressed, must rigorously implement the policy of the center and consult the people more. At the same time, administrative measures must be used to resolve the problems facing the country. However, in the interests of healthy economic development, there must be no return to the old methods of economic management.

The NPC session devoted great attention to matters of law and order in the country. Wang Fang, member of the PRC State Council and PRC minister of social security, indicated, in particular, in his speech to deputies from Guizhou Province that considerable work was done in this sphere last year: the struggle against crime was accelerated and more than 620,000 crimes of various sorts detected. At the same time, the minister noted the increase in the number of serious legal violations—murders, robberies, and rapes. Efforts are needed on the part of all society to eliminate this.

The NPC session is continuing its work. Debates have begun in deputy groups on the government work report.

Northeast Asia

Rogachev Rejects Japan's N. Territories Claims

PM2803144089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, by Tokyo correspondent S. Agafonov in Tokyo: "Dialogue Will Continue"; date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Soviet-Japanese consultations at the deputy foreign minister level, and the first session of the working party on a peace treaty that was set up last December as a result of USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's visit, have taken place in Tokyo. The Soviet delegation to this series of talks was headed by I.A. Rogachev. At the request of IZVESTIYA's Tokyo correspondent S. Agafonov, he told us about the results of the meeting.

[Rogachev] In the course of the discussions a whole series of points were discovered on which the views of the USSR and Japan coincide or are relatively close. This applies first and foremost to the positive assessment of the changes taking place in the international arena and the common understanding of certain global problems. Both sides came out in favor of progress at the current disarmament talks, and a similarity of views was noted on the need for the speediest settlement of regional conflicts.

At the same time, our talks did not overlook the differences in the two countries' approaches to certain problems. We did not always see a readiness on the Japanese side to back up with concrete action its own statements on the desire for peace and stability in the extensive region that surrounds it. Nor did we hear any counterproposals on the development of bilateral relations.

Nonetheless, the exchange of opinions on both international and bilateral subjects in general was important and necessary.

[Agafonov] Special interest is undoubtedly aroused by the first session of the working party on a peace treaty....

[Rogachev] Let me begin by saying that we regard a peace treaty as a comprehensive, fundamental document in bilateral relations.

In our view, the starting point in approaching the content of a peace treaty should be the results of World War II, in light of the experience of mutual relations in the world community in subsequent years. We think the treaty should widely reflect our countries' commitment to the basic, generally accepted principles and objectives formulated in the UN Charter and other UN documents and should enshrine the sides' peaceful intentions and determination to act in a spirit of cooperation, noninterference in internal affairs, and avoidance of actions that threaten the partners' security in their relations with one another.

In a recent interview for IZVESTIYA, Japanese Prime Minister N. Takeshita noted that the Japanese side "seeks to create stable relations with the Soviet Union based on true mutual understanding and trust, and to develop them in a direction that will enable us to make the most of the potential for cooperation between the two countries." This approach accords with the Soviet leadership's position, too.

It is also obvious that the treaty should contain a geographical aspect—by this we mean first and foremost the need to enshrine the postwar borders between our coutnries, which have yet to be demarcated. We are aware that the positions of the USSR and Japan diverge on this question, and it is therefore important to discuss the differences that exist in a calm atmosphere, without whipping up emotions, but making the necessary efforts to eliminate these differences.

As for the content of the peace treaty, in the course of the working party sessions the Japanese side put forward no views on this score.

[Agafonov] It is well known that the Japanese side stubbornly clings to the so-called "territorial problem," and attaches paramount importance to it in all contacts with us. How did this aspect look at the latest talks?

[Rogachev] Indeed, in the course of the session of the peace treaty working party the Japanese side confined itself mainly to expounding its well-known approach, which amounts to territorial claims on a number of the islands of the southern part of the Kuril chain, which belong to the Soviet Union. Unfortunately we heard nothing new, apart from this, from our Japanese partners, and I must say that this narrow approach to the matter of the content of a peace treaty cannot, in our opinion, promote significant progress.

Now a few words about our arguments on the issue of Japan's territorial claims to the Soviet islands of Iturup, Kunashir, Khabomai, and Shikotan. The fact that these lands belong to the Soviet Union is the cornerstone of our position, which is based on the principles and norms of present-day international law. One of the most important legal documents defining the postwar settlement in the Far East is the decisions of the 1945 Yalta conference, on the basis of which the southern part of Sakhalin was restored and the Kuril Islands handed over to the Soviet Union. The Yalta accords retain their force and their binding nature not only for the USSR, the United States, and Britain, as the powers that signed the agreement, but also for Japan as the object of this agreement. This is also confirmed by Article 107 of the UN Charter, which confirms the force of the postwar settlement documents, and by the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1951, signed by Japan, which enshrines Japan's renunciation of all rights, entitlement, and claims to the Far Eastern territories handed over to the Soviet Union under the Yalta agreement.

I would like to note that it was not only a matter of setting forth the legal and juridical aspects of our position. The Soviet side took a considerably broader view of the matter, touching on, for instance, the historical sphere and the issue of the discovery, opening up, and settlement of the Far Eastern lands. The facts at our disposal give us every reason to think that the Kuril Islands are age-old Russian lands by right of first discovery, first annexation, first settlement, and first exploration.

Another important question, in my view, that was touched on at this meeting was that of the geographical definition of the Kuril Islands themselves, because the Japanese side persistently maintains that the territories to which it lays claim are not part of the Kuril chain at all. Our approach to this is unequivocal: Attempts to artificially manipulate the concept of the Kuril Islands, which arose several centuries ago, have no serious foundation.

A detailed discussion of the sensitive territorial aspect showed what is most important: The Soviet argument on this problem is convincingly substantiated in legal, historical, and geographical terms and is by no means lacking in logic or evidence, as the Japanese side has repeatedly claimed.

[Agafonov] In other words, the views held by the partners in the dialogue on the crux of this matter are still opposed, and each is standing firm. So is this a hopeless impasse?

[Rogachev] To find the solution, goodwill, statesmanlike wisdom, and mutual consideration of interests are needed. After all, Japan has territorial disputes not only with the Soviet Union, but with other neighboring countries, including China and South Korea. But this does not preclude the gradual development of Japanese-Chinese relations and contacts between Tokyo and Seoul. Failing to find mutually acceptable solutions to these territorial disputes today, the partners did not erect barriers of mutual ultimatums, but postponed the problem to the future, preferring instead of confrontation the broad development of dialogue and consolidation of the goodneighborly base, which certainly could only benefit all interested parties and the international climate in general.

I mention this example only to emphasize that given the mutual desire and goodwill, there are no hopeless impasses in politics.

[Agafonov] The traditional final question—on prospects. What lies in store for Soviet-Japanese relations in the immediate future, and what are the current trends in the development of bilateral dialogue?

[Rogachev] A whole series of high-level Soviet-Japanese contacts are planned for this year. Japanese Foreign Minister S. Uno reaffirmed his intention to pay an official visit to the USSR in late April-early May. The next session of the peace treaty working party will take place at the same time. We expect the Japanese side to put forward its views on the matters we raised during the talks and meetings that have just ended. We are convinced that given goodwill, a sense of realism, and an awareness of the balance of interests, the potential exists for bringing the sides' positions closer together, even where serious disagreements currently separate them. And here much will depend on our Japanese partners in the dialogue.

* Basis for Japan's Territories Claim Viewed

WA1807O162 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[Article by Tokyo correspondent I. Latyshev: "Traps and Goals"; Moscow in Japanese to Japan version of the first half of this article was published on page 12 of the 23 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Text] Recent months have been marked by significant steps in the direction of the development of a Soviet-Japanese dialogue. The negotiations between the foreign ministers of the two countries held in Tokyo in December 1988 took place in a warmer atmosphere than before and led to the achievement of a number of important points of agreement. Thus, in particular, they reached agreement on the creation of a permanent working group at the deputy foreign minister level that is called upon to contribute to further progress in negotiations pertaining to a peace treaty between the two countries. All this has raised the interest of Japanese Government figures, politicians, and journalists in questions related to relations with the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately, this interest is manifested not only in greater activity on the part of proponents of strengthening the Soviet-Japanese good neighbor policy, but also in increased attempts to create obstacles to the accelerated signing of a peace treaty and increased attempts to arouse hostile feelings toward our country among the population. Territorial claims against the Soviet Union have become a favorite means of arousing anti-Soviet feelings among the Japanese population. By raising them, the opponents of the good neighbor policy between the two countries are deliberately creating obstacles to the progressive development of Japanese-Soviet relations. This was the purpose of the campaign named by its organizers the "movement for the return of the Northern Territories." Here, the term "Northern Territories" is deliberately left unclear, for the organizers of the "movement" allow differences in its interpretation: some mean the four southern islands of the Kuril ridge, others mean all the Kuril Islands, and still others include Sakhalin as well.

What is the justification in Japan for the demand to change the Japanese-Soviet borders? First of all, they refer to history. But these references are intended for people with little knowledge of the concrete historical facts. For example, the assertion is now being made that the Kuril Islands have been "Japanese territory from time immemorial." And they close their eyes to the fact that the Kuril Islands, discovered by Russian explorers in the 17th century, were not only investigated and geographically described by them in the 18th century, but were also economically assimilated, and the indigenous population of these islands, the Ainu, in the middle of that same century voluntarily changed to Russian citizenship. The subsequent appearance on the southern islands of the Kuril ridge of emissaries from the Japanese authorities and military detachments who destroyed the Russian border signs took place much later—not until the end of the 18th century.

Trying to give legal strength to their claims to the Kuril Islands, organizers of the "Movement for the Return of the Northern Territories" usually refer to the Russo-Japanese treaties of 1855 and 1875, which were signed by the czarist government when the British and French navies, which then dominated the Pacific Ocean, had created a threat to the Far Eastern borders of Russia. Not being able to defend the Kuril Islands at that time, the czarist government was in a difficult situation, and the Japanese authorities took advantage of it. The pressure from the Japanese on the czarist diplomats, who were not sufficiently farsighted or firm, led to a situation where in the first of the treaties (1855) Russia ceded southern islands of the Kuril ridge to Japan, and in the second (1875), the northern part of the Kuril group. But here one should recall that the most important constituent part of the aforementioned treaties of the two countries were the articles pertaining to the status of Sakhalin Island. While in the 1855 treaty the Japanese recognized the Russian presence on this island, the 1875 treaty clearly registered Japan's denial of a claim to Sakhalin and included this island as a part of Russian territory.

Laying claim to the Kuril Islands today, the champions of revision of the postwar borders are trying to assert that including the Kuril Islands in the territory of the Soviet Union was a violation of the two aforementioned agreements. But at the same time they say nothing about one of the most important circumstances that nullifies these claims. The fact is that both of the aforementioned treaties were unceremoniously broken and annulled...by Japan itself. Having treacherously begun the war with Russia in 1904 and having won it, in 1905 Japan forced upon Russia the Portsmouth Treaty, according to which all the treaty bases of Russo-Japanese relations created in preceding years collapsed. Japan's repudiation of previous treaties was registered both in Article 9 of the Portsmouth Treaty and in the appendix to it after Number 10. The direct consequence of the victory of the Japanese Army in the war it unleashed was to take the southern part of Sakhalin away from Russia and attach it to Japan, which violated the two aforementioned treaties. One asks whether it is appropriate under these circumstances for Japanese politicians and diplomats to reproach our country today for not observing these treaties which were dissolved long ago by Japan itself. Is it appropriate to refer to these treaties? Of course not. But this obvious legal and logical absurdity, it seems, does not bother the organizers of the "Movement for the Return of the Northern Territories" in the least.

Japan's unceremonious violation of agreements concluded previously with Russia continued to an even greater degree in subsequent years. Thus 13 years later after the signing of the Portsmouth Treaty, Japanese rulers grossly violated this agreement again. In 1918, taking advantage of the beginning of the civil war in our country, Japanese armed forces invaded the territory of the Soviet Union and occupied first the Maritime region and then the Amur and Baykal regions, and in 1920 they seized Northern Sakhalin as well, which was another overt outrage upon all the agreements previously signed with Russia. The attempt of the Japanese bandits to take over the Soviet Far East ended in hundreds of destroyed cities and villages and thousands of deaths.

Nor can anyone erase from history the fact that during those most difficult days for the Soviet people when Hitler was invading our country, the Kwantung Army of millions, which was stationed at our Far Eastern borders, by a decision of the imperial conference of 2 July 1941 and according to a plan developed subsequently, prepared to seize the Soviet Far East, thus, to the joy of the German generals, tying up a significant proportion of the Soviet Armed Forces in this region. During those years a good deal of harm was caused to our country by the illegal malicious seizures and sinking of peaceful Soviet ships by the Japanese Navy in the Pacific Ocean waters. But the Kuril Islands, which were taken over by Japan in the very first stage of its expansion to the north, were transformed into a hotbed of Japanese militarism on the eve of World War II, which created a constant threat to Kamchatka and other Far Eastern regions of the USSR. And not only the USSR: It was from Kuril that the Japanese squadron commanded by Yamamoto, whose aircraft suddenly attacked Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, began its secret raid toward Hawaii.

The organizers of the "Movement for the Return of the Northern Territories" also "forget" about many other things: for example, the fact that the Kuril Islands were transferred to the control of the Soviet Union, and not by the unilateral will of the latter but in keeping with a coordinated decision of the three allied powers adopted at the Yalta conference in February 1945. It is noteworthy that during the first postwar years the Japanese Government recognized the correctness of this decision and regarded the Kuril Islands as a non-Japanese territory, for it is a fact that the recall and resettlement in Japan of all Japanese living on the Kuril Islands was carried out by the Japanese Government under the same administrative policy by which it repatriated Japanese living on the territories of Korea, China, and other Asian nations occupied by Japan just before and during the war.

And, finally, another trap of those who wish to change the borders: In our day they no longer think about the San Francisco Peace Treaty signed by Japan, whose text clearly and unambiguously registers Japan's renunciation of its rights to the Kuril Islands and southern Sakhalin. The formal hitch for this in our day have been the assertions of Japanese diplomats that the southern islands of the Kuril ridge, including Kunashir and Iturup, were not previously included in the Kurils and therefore do not come under the conditions of the San Francisco Treaty. The groundlessness of these assertions can be seen with one glance at the Japanese prewar maps where all the Kuril Islands are subsumed under one administrative unit, which at that time was designated by the Japanese word "Tisima."

The current rhetoric of those in Japan who have a yen for Soviet territory looks extremely unconvincing. One can see too clearly in it the desire to arouse anti-Soviet revisionist attitudes in the Japanese. Such a policy, of course, can have no positive results. It would therefore be much better to look at the current situation calmly and soberly. The peoples of Japan and the Soviet Union have been living as good neighbors for a long time. Objectively, in our day there is nothing to divide up: stable and clear-cut boundaries exist between the two countries. People living on both sides of these boundaries are engaged in peaceful, creative labor. And therefore, the path to legally reinforcing the Soviet-Japanese good-neighbor policy consists not of conducting fruitless territorial disputes, but in completing in the shortest possible amount of time the work of preparing a peace treaty, thus putting an end to all that has long been a part of the past.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Rogachev Attends UN Economic, Social Commission

Addresses Session

LD2803231189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0830 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Bangkok, 28 Mar (TASS)—TASS correspondent Boris Chekhonin reports:

Questions of strengthening all-around cooperation between states with different political systems in the interests of the peoples of the Asia-Pacific region are the focus of attention of the 45th session of the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific [ESCAP].

The participants in the session today listened with great interest to the speech by I.A. Rogachev, head of the Soviet delegation and USSR deputy foreign minister. We are convinced, he said, that in the coming years good opportunities will open up for the progressive development of our relations with ESCAP and member countries of the commission. The USSR advocates the active participation of this UN regional organization in preparation of the international strategy of development for the last decade of the present century. One would think the session might adopt a regional strategy for protecting the environment and the radical use of natural resources drafted under ESCAP as the commission's contribution to the UN conference on the environment to be held in 1992.

The head of the Soviet delegation went on to declare the USSR's determination to take vigorous measures to use the untapped reserves for developing economic relations with countries in the region. In particular, he said, we are pondering the creation of special zones of joint enterprise in the Far East. Here, the speaker stressed, we base ourselves on the keynote speeches by M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, setting the aim of creating peaceful structures for the future prosperity of all countries of the region.

Speaking about regional conflicts, the USSR deputy foreign minister noted the readiness of the world community to promote peaceful construction in Afghanistan, which has expressed its support for the program of emergency aid to the country under the aegis of the United Nations. He positively assessed the efforts by a number of states in the region to settle the Cambodian issue.

Meets Commission Leader

LD2803230389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0915 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Bangkok, 28 Mar (TASS)—I.A. Rogachev, head of the Soviet delegation at the 45th session of the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific and USSR deputy foreign minister, has met S.A. Kibria, executive secretary of ESCAP. The discussion centered on matters relating to the expansion of cooperation between the USSR and this regional organization. Both sides noted the favorable prospects for such cooperation in light of the general invigoration of Soviet policy in Asia and Pacific basin.

Meets Indonesian Foreign Minister

LD2803230189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0649 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Bangkok, 28 March (TASS)—Within the framework of the 45th ESCAP session here, a meeting has taken place today between I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Ali Alatas, Indonesia's minister of foreign affairs. Certain issues were discussed concerning further expansion of Soviet-Indonesian relations as well as the situation in the Asia-Pacific region as a whole. Both sides devoted particular attention to examining the Cambodia situation. Hope was expressed for a continuation of the inter-Khmer dialogue, which is intended to become the chief instrument in finding mutually acceptable solutions for existing problems. The Soviet Union and Indonesia confirm their readiness to actively promote a settlement of this regional conflict through political means.

Says Sihanouk Stance Prolonging War

BK2903120489 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev expressed hope that Samdech Norodom Sihanouk would have sufficient good judgment to resume dialogue with the Cambodian leaders. The comrade made this comment at a news conference in Bangkok. Rogachev pointed out that the Samdech's current stance is, in fact, to protract the war in order to kill his compatriots. The political dialogue is the only way out of the Cambodian problem.

Disunity Within Cambodian Resistance Viewed

BK2603093789 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Aleksey Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] Almost a week has elapsed since the Beijing meeting where the leaders of the Cambodian opposition groups decided to strengthen their unity. However, it has been most obvious that splits among them have grown unchecked. Comrade Aleksey Nikolayev has this to say:

I would like to remind you that this is about the formation of the so-called high council of the Cambodian resistance fighters, placing the forces of the three groups under the command of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. Their objective was to increase military pressure on the Cambodian Government. Compared with the informal meeting in Jakarta, which insisted on the need to settle the Cambodian problem politically, this new activity of the opposition groups is not unlike taking a step backward. The majority of the opposition groups wanted to resort to military means. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Armed Forces have bravely smashed all activities of the almost completely demoralized opposition groups. It is believed that the creation of a unified command is an attempt to boost the fighting morale of those opposed to the people's power, those who want to continue fratricidal disputes. However, this adventurous plan has encountered resistance from representatives of the Cambodian opposition groups. For example, a few days ago, AFP in Thailand reported that commanders of the rebel forces criticized the idea of creating the so-called unified command. General Dien Del, deputy commander of the Son Sann forces, said: I do not want to be placed under the same yoke with the Khmer Rouge. Our command and General Staff will never agree to join the Khmer Rouge.

Therefore, the High Council for National Defense is merely a smokescreen for the Polpotists to operate behind the back of the other two opposition groups. But this duplicity will certainly not benefit the Khmer Rouge. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk certainly will not forget that the Pol Pot gang massacred millions of his people, including 5 of his children and 15 grandchildren. He will never forget that the Pol Pot gang attacked his men and the men of Son Sann. But the unification of the forces was established with the caveat that each group still holds some autonomy. Certainly, this also gives Pol Pot the green light should the activities of the other groups fail to synchronize with his own. To the Polpotists, the new military setup is an easy-to-use instrument for seizing power and resurrecting their own regime. However, this does not fit well with the plan of Samdech

Sihanouk and Son Sann. It is to be noted that distrustful Dien Del has had no desire to talk to Son Sann ever since the founding of the joint alliance, and this is not out of sheer caprice!

The DAILY TELEGRAPH of London has written: At a glance, the Khmer Rouge seem to be waging a struggle solely against the Cambodian Government. In fact, they are also fighting their coalition partners.

'Political Negotiations' Only Hope for Cambodia

BK2903041289 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Commentary by unidentified station observer]

[Text] It is almost daily that various news agencies report military clashes between the Cambodian People's Forces and opposing Cambodian armed forces, particularly those of the Khmer Rouge. Objectively speaking, the government forces usually come out victorious in these operations. In the past 2 months, the opposing side lost thousands of men without gaining even an inch of Cambodian territory. However, these operations are still actively undertaken. Why? Here is a Moscow Radio observer's commentary.

This is because the ringleaders of the Pol Pot group, which has bases in Thailand, made a decision nearly 2 months ago to actively operate in Cambodian territory. This decision was taken after the Thai Government of Chatchai Chunhawan spoke against the Khmer Rouge's intention of seizing power in Cambodia following the withdrawal of all Vietnamese volunteer troops, and decided to normalize economic relations with the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK]. The Pol Pot group was also not pleased with the new policy implemented by the Thai Government toward Cambodian refugees. This policy does not allow excessive violations of human rights in refugee camps and also puts an end to the use of Cambodian civilians by opposing Cambodian groups in operations against the government. As representatives of the Thai Army Command have said, measures are now being taken to separate armed groups of opposing Cambodian parties from civilians in every refugee camp.

In practice, Cambodian refugees have been victims of the whims of henchmen of opposing Cambodian groups, first of all of the Pol Pot clique. This is the testimony of workers from Western humanitarian organizations. The Pol Pot group has been making use of food and necessary goods provided to refugee camps through international assistance and has been forcing youths to take part in sabotage and subversive activities in the PRK. It is under these circumstances that the Thai authorities have decided to stop military assistance to the Khmer Rouge and restrict the movement of armed groups of this organization on Thai territory.

Realizing that they are almost isolated in the international arena and that the ground they are standing on is slipping from under their feet, the Pol Pot men decided to flex their military muscle. They have tried to attack various support bases of the Cambodian People's Army, set up secret arms caches, and infiltrate their agents into Cambodia's rural areas. Two months have gone by since their offensive started. It is clear that the Pol Pot group, through increasing losses of fighting men and weapons in these operations, is becoming ineffective in the eyes of its backers. The attempt to improve the situation through the establishment of the so-called High Council for National Defense has also failed. The opposing camp is becoming so divided by acute differences that one cannot talk about setting up a unified armed force. That is how another attempt failed in trying to solve the Cambodian problem abruptly through the use of military force.

Some representatives of the opposing groups still stubbornly refuse to understand that their era has already irreversibly passed and that a solution to the acute problem facing the Cambodian people and everyone in Southeast Asia—the establishment of a peaceful, independent, and nonaligned Cambodian state—can only be found through political negotiations.

Near East & South Asia

Col Gen Chervov Views Afghanistan Situation

PM2803140989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Colonel General N. Chervov: "Afghanistan: Aggression Repulsed"]

[Text] It is now 6 weeks since the limited contingent of Soviet troops left Afghanistan. The Soviet Union fully and on time discharged its commitments as defined under the Geneva agreements. The Afghan leadership, evincing a considered approach, political wisdom, and readiness to seek ways of ensuring national reconciliation, has also acted and continues to act in strict accordance with the letter and spirit of those agreements.

The Soviet troop withdrawal was preceded by considerable, sometimes dramatically strenuous efforts to seek a political settlement formula. This formula seemed to have been found in the spring of 1988, when the well-known agreements were signed in Geneva, parties to which were the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and their guarantors—the USSR and the United States acting as guarantors.

Now, when the events in and around Afghanistan are developing under new conditions, it is time to draw up some preliminary results on this process and view them from the standpoint of the new trends and circumstances that have emerged—not just in order to assess the development of the military-political situation in Afghanistan, but also because, even after the return home of our troops, the Soviet Union remains concerned over the fate of the Afghan people and the political settlement of the problem as a whole.

The development of the military-political situation in Afghanistan has been complex. Since the Soviet troop pullout the republic's regime has found itself in a more serious situation than before. The Afghan Armed Forces now must rely on themselves alone in tackling the tasks of defending their homeland. At the same time, the Soviet troop withdrawal was unambiguously interpreted by the leaders of the antigovernment forces as a signal to accelerate the scale of hostile actions ultimately aimed at toppling the legitimate government by force of arms and seizing power in the country. The same position was adopted and has essentially continued to be adopted by the opposition's chief sponsors.

It is in this very difficult situation that the Afghan leadership is now forced to operate, not only organizing resistance to direct attacks by antigovernment forces but also continuing to implement the course of a political solution of the problem.

The intransigent resistance is clearly in a hurry to exploit a bit more quickly what it sees as the favorable prevailing situation, to accelerate the scale of its combat operations against government forces and inflict defeat upon them, and to solve the main task—seizing power in the country—in the shortest possible time.

What is behind this haste? First, the desire of the leaders of the "Alliance of Seven" to corroborate their previous loud statements about the strength of the mujahidin and the weakness of the republic's regime, which was allegedly going to fall within a week or two of the Soviet troop pullout. Second, the well-founded fear of the "Peshawar Seven" leaders and their sponsors that the republic's regime will steadily gain momentum in the new conditions. And, finally, the desire to take reliable hold a little more quickly of at least a part of Afghan territory with important political and administrative centers in order to transfer to one of them the so-called "interim government" formed in Pakistan under external pressure and to subsequently try to gain recognition for it in the international arena.

Active intensification of subversive activity by the Afghan opposition is being urged by Islamabad, Washington, Riyadh, and other capitals of states that have contributed billions of dollars to the undeclared war against Afghanistan but have not received a return.

Incidentally, the United States, while extending generous aid to to the Afghan counterrevolution ($500 million in 1986, $700 million in 1987, and $800 million in 1988), owes $278 million to UN coffers.

The desire of the sponsors and inspirers of the anti-Afghan forces to achieve their goal more quickly, namely the goal of overthrowing the republic's regime, is prompting them to accelerate their direct involvement in acts of subversion and combat operations carried out on Afghan territory. Blatantly false articles about a "continuing Soviet military presence" in Afghanistan and the presence of 10,000 Soviet troops in the region of the Vakhan Corridor have appeared in the Western press in an attempt to cover up their unseemly role in Afghan affairs. This is a deliberate lie that bears no relation at all to reality.

This February to March, the armed opposition has taken a number of serious steps on Afghan territory aimed at establishing a blockade of ground communications, provincial centers, and Kabul, and putting airfields out of action. Subversive and terrorist activity is increasing in cities, important political and administrative centers are being fired on with missiles obtained from Pakistan, and attempts are being made to disaffect the party and state apparatus and Armed Forces personnel.

The opposition forces have strengthened their formations on the republic's territory, increasing their numbers from 185,000 to 190,000. Extra mujahidin are being pushed through training centers in Pakistan and Iran as a matter of urgency. Around 25,000 insurgents armed with modern weapons are being assembled around Jalalabad alone.

Pakistan, which has been directly involved in recruiting reinforcements from Afghan refugees and Pakistani Pushtun tribes, supplying weapons and munitions to Afghan territory and organizing combat operations, has played a special role in building up a grouping hostile to the Government of Afghanistan.

The seizure of Jalalabad, historically one of Afghanistan's capitals, was the main and priority objective set by the opposition for the first stage of the spring campaign. Mastery of this city would give the "Alliance of Seven" the opportunity to relocate their "interim government" there and create certain conditions for its broad recognition. Moreover, mastery of Jalalabad, according to the "alliance" leaders' plan, should produce a corresponding moral and psychological impact. That is why the results of the combat operations near Jalalabad are of fundamental significance for both sides. It is a kind of touchstone. And from this standpoint the government troops' defeat of the antigovernment forces has graphically demonstrated not just to the Afghan community but to the whole international community who controls the situation in the country.

According to information received, the opposition has lost around 4,000 killed around Jalalabad alone. Afghan troops defending the city have shown fortitude, staunch morale, and military skill in the difficult situation. At the same time the mujahidin, who were assembled in this region practically by force, having now been fittingly repulsed, are very reluctant to make fresh attacks on the positions occupied by the republic forces. The repulsion of the armed counterrevolution's first bid has demonstrated the utter groundlessness of the forecasts made by Western and regional analysts regarding the Afghan Army's inability to defend the gains of the April revolution.

The fighting for Jalalabad has revealed yet another aspect of the problem, namely the fact that Afghanistan is now subject not just to attacks from the insurgent forces but also to direct armed aggression from Pakistan. This is all being done in direct violation of the Geneva agreements.

The Soviet Government statement pointed to cases of Pakistani forces' participation in combat operations on the counterrevolution side. Overall leadership of the operation to capture Jalalabad is being personally carried out by Lieutenant General Hamid Gul, chief of the Pakistan interdepartmental intelligence administration. Pakistani military advisers, who demand "rapid and impressive" successes from opposition leaders, are found in the majority of the opposition's detachments. The opposition grouping in the Jalalabad region is supported by several thousand Pakistani militia (armed fighters of tribal formations). Pakistani Army motor transport and helicopters are supplying the combat region with arms and munitions and are evacuating wounded. Dozens of Saudi and American advisers are members of the gangs located on Afghan territory. The aggression is essentially being carried out openly.

By all accounts, it is only the first attacks on Jalalabad that have been beaten off; new and equally serious attacks are expected. Pakistani military intelligence, which has been transformed into a virtually autonomous political organism during the years of the undeclared war against the republic, will, without doubt, be seeking to use its influence on the "Alliance of Seven" to organize new attempts to capture Jalalabad..

In other regions of Afghanistan the military and political situation has not changed substantially in the last 6 weeks. On the whole, government troops are exercising sufficiently reliable control over strategically important centers, are ensuring the uninterrupted, albeit not always safe operation of vitally important ground communications, and are waging active combat operations against detachments of the intransigent opposition.

I would note that antigovernment forces are not unanimous in their evaluations of the prevailing situation, including evaluations of future development prospects. A considerable proportion of the so-called field commanders heading opposition detachments in the central, western, northern, and northeastern regions of Afghanistan are playing a waiting game and are carefully following the first tests of strength of the republic's regime in the south and southeast of the country to determine their own position subject to the results. Deep contradictions persist between the pro-Iranian organizations of the "Union of Eight" and the Peshawar-based "Alliance of Seven" groupings."

Many Afghans in the Pakistan refugee camps have begun leaving with their families for Afghan territory in recent days in a bid to avoid forced mobilization into gangs and dispatch into combat regions. This is a clear sign of the unpopularity of the "Alliance of Seven's" course of expanding armed actions.

The development of events in Afghanistan since 15 February 1989 allows certain conclusions to be drawn. The chief of these is that the activity of the republic's regime in the new conditions is far more complex militarily than before and has demonstrated its viability, skill, and ability to tackle political and military tasks in the interests of stabilizing the situation in the country. The regime's self-destruction, as prophesied by opposition leaders, has not occurred. Moreover, the real situation in the country at present refutes the claim by opposition leaders that the present Afghan Government does not enjoy the people's support. On the contrary, there have been many examples of the population more frequently showing its discontent when the authorities have shown indecisiveness against insurgents. The continuation by the "Alliance of Seven" of its line of armed struggle completely exposes the "liberation" aim of the mujahidin struggle. Since the Soviet troop pullout they have been fighting against their own people. Under these conditions the aid given the opposition by the United States and other countries, and Pakistan's direct participation in combat operations on the republic's territory are nothing more than interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state.

The fact that Pakistan and the United States, which are signatories to the Geneva agreements, are not carrying out those agrements is a matter of deep regret. At the same time, the United Nations could undoubtedly play a more active and effective role in settling the Afghan question.

I think that both the Pakistani leadership and the leaders of other countries that still cherish illusions regarding the opposition's ability to achieve its objectives by force of arms should look more closely at the prevailing situation in Afghanistan and grasp that the republic's regime and the Afghan people as a whole are fully determined to defend their homeland not just from mercenaries but from their sponsors, too.

The development of events in and around Afghanistan at this stage is leading to the point where the process of detente that has emerged in that country may, through the efforts of Pakistan, the United States, and other states, be turned into a protracted regional conflict, with all the negative consequences arising from such a conflict.

Soviet Envoy Meets UN Chief on Afghanistan

LD2903063789 Moscow TASS in English 0535 GMT 29 March 89

[Text] New York March 29 TASS—Aleksandr Belonogov, permanent representative of the USSR at the United Nations, met with UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar on Tuesday.

The state of affairs in the world, including the Afghan situation which arouses the concern of the Soviet Government, and in particular the unsatisfactory implementation of the Geneva agreements on a settlement of the Afghanistan situation, were discussed during the meeting, the Soviet diplomat told journalists accredited at the UN.

"We regard these agreements as the cornerstone of the efforts towards a peaceful settlement in the region", Belonogov said. "We are proud of the fact that we have honoured our obligations under the agreements. There are no Soviet soldiers on Afghan territory now".

"At the same time, we are very much dissatisfied with the fact that these agreements are not honoured and are disregarded by Pakistan", he said. "We are now witnessing a deeper involvement of that country in the internal affairs of Afghanistan".

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, when speaking at the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly, set out a whole number of ideas the realisation of which is essential for settling the situation, Belonogov pointed out.

"Some additional steps may be needed as the situation develops. It is now very important, for example, to follow what is taking place in the area of the Afghan-Pakistani border. It would be advisable for the UN Good Offices Mission for Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) more attentively to monitor the border situation. It is known that the Afghan Government suggests posting UN observers in the area of the border. This is the right idea. The situation now demands more attention on the part of UNGOMAP on the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Najibullah Sends Message to UN Chief

Complains of Pakistan 'Aggression'

LD2803154989 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 28 TASS—A message by Afghanistan's President Najibullah to Javier Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary-general, was released here. It says:

"I want to bring to the attention of Your Excellency that an unprecedented increase in military tension in Afghanistan's provinces bordering on Pakistan is in evidence at present. It has been caused by Pakistan's policy of military aggression and interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan. The Pakistani side grossly violates all documents of the Geneva agreements and, especially, the provisions of the first document. Pakistan's policy is at odds with the Geneva agreements. It also enjoys the irresponsible patronage of the Administration of the United States which is a guarantor of the Geneva agreements.

"The concentration of Pakistani Armed Forces along the border with Afghanistan, which provide logistic support for the military aggression of the Pakistani Army, commandos and tribal militia units in border provinces, especially in the city of Jalalabad, created a qualitatively new situation which poses a serious threat to the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country.

"Incontrovertible evidence and documents are available of Pakistan's aggression and interference, which bear witness that Pakistan's military intelligence agency exerts great pressure to ensure a speedy seizure of Jalalabad. The recent capture of two Pakistani military intelligence officers on Afghan territory demonstrates the breadth of Pakistan's military interference and aggression against Afghanistan.

"The facts of Pakistan's military aggression and interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, which is a clear violation of the Geneva agreements and whose number is growing day by day, were reported in 337 notes to the UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP).

"The Republic of Afghanistan has repeatedly approached the mission with requests, in its notes and during talks with its representatives, that permanent posts be set up in border areas and, especially, in Towr Kham, Teri Mangla, Chaman, Wanawag, Parachinar, Miram Shah in the same way in which similar posts to monitor Soviet troop withdrawal were opened in Towraghoudi, Hayratan and Shindand, to prevent the shipment of weapons and ammunition, the smuggling of armed extremists, and stop other forms of Pakistani interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan.

"The Republic of Afghanistan has repeatedly insisted on this request, since we are deeply convinced that disregard for the question of opening such posts will lead to a rise in military tension, an intensification of the war and fratricide, an increase in interference on the part of Pakistan in Afghanistan's internal affairs, and will put peace and security in the region in peril.

"In drawing the attention of Your Excellency to Article 34, the first paragraph of Article 35 and to Article 39 of the United Nations Organisation Charter, we think that you and the United Nations can play your role in settling the existing situation.

"The situation was exacerbated to an unprecedented degree as a result of direct interference by the Pakistani Army and military intelligence, and support for the extremist part of the armed opposition on Afghan territory. It is encouraged, logistical support is given to it, and weapons are supplied. We ask Your Excellency to take urgent measures and are confident that your role in ensuring peace and stability in the region, in implementing the Geneva agreements, which were signed as a result of many years of efforts with your involvement, and in fulfilling the resolution of the 43rd UN General Assembly session is great.

"In our view, setting up, in keeping with the Geneva agreements, permanent monitoring posts of the UNGOMAP in the above-mentioned locations would be the first step toward preventing Pakistani military aggression and interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan. We ask you to authorise the opening of such posts as a matter of urgency. The situation would be analysed and Your Excellency, the signatories of the Geneva agreements, and also the USSR and the United States, which are the guarantors of these agreements, would be informed about the results.

"I avail myself of this opportunity to reiterate the assurances of my deepest respect for Your Excellency".

Message Circulated as UN Document

LD2903061589 Moscow TASS in English 0602 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] New York March 29 TASS—Afghan President Najibullah's message to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar was circulated in UN headquarters on Tuesday as an official document of the UN General Assembly and the Security Council.

The letter voices concern over unprecedented military tensions in Afghan provinces bordering on Pakistan and asks the secretary-general to urgently deploy UN observers in border areas as a first step to preventing Pakistani aggression and interference in Afghanstan's internal affairs.

Perez de Cuellar invited Pakistan's UN representative Shahnawaz to UN Headquarters and informed him of the Afghan Government's concern.

Afghan Embassy Official Meets Press in Moscow

LD2903085889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] In the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists took place today at which Kharami, first counsellor of the Republic of Afghanistan Embassy in Moscow, spoke. He spoke in detail on the situation in and around Afghanistan since the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from the republic. Speaking about the position of the Government of Afghanistan, he noted:

[Begin recording] [Kharami, in vernacular fading into Russian report] Despite the continued bloody and destructive war the armed opposition is waging, with the support and direct participation of Pakistan, the United States, and their allies, the counsellor said, the leadership of the republic still believes that the resolution of Afghanistan's problems are realizable, not by military means but within the framework of a dialogue, and by creating a coalition government on a broad basis with the participation of all sides. President Najibullah has made an address to field commanders, inviting them to negotiations. There are already examples of field commanders coming into contact with representatives of the government, signing agreements, and even handing over surface-to-air missiles to the government.

Now the Kabul-Salang-Hayratan highway is open and operating. In Kabul help is arriving by air from the Soviet Union, India, Switzerland, and other countries. The attacks on Jalalabad have misfired. Among the attackers killed have been servicemen from the Pakistani Army and military advisers from other countries. In Afghanistan the sense of protest against the real military interference by Pakistan is growing. An analysis of recent events indicates that the people of Afghanistan are determined to resolve their problems independently, in their own home, and no one has the right to resolve them on their behalf in Washington or in Islamabad, Kharami, first counsellor of the Embassy of the Republic of Afghanistan in Moscow, stressed in conclusion. [end recording]

Battle for Jalalabad 'Far From Being Over'

LD2803125189 Moscow TASS in English 1132 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy:

Three weeks ago the armed groups of Afghan opposition launched a frontal attack on the city of Jalalabad, the administrative centre of the eastern Afghan Province of Nangarhar. The insurgents have not managed to attain their objectives but the Jalalabad battle is far from being over.

It is clear that an assault on Jalalabad was not duly prepared and bore the signs of haste. This is accounted for by purely political motives of the action—a desire of the opposition to achieve if only some international recognition for an "interim government" which they formed in Rawalpindi. For this purpose the leaders of the Peshawar-based "Alliance of Seven" need to "install" the "interim government" on Afghan soil, preferably in one of the large cities. Jalalabad was chosen due to its proximity to the border with Pakistan—about 70 km away from the border point of Towr Kham—as well as due to the presence of bases—many areas of the province found themselves under the control of the armed opposition in November last year.

Despite the haste, the mujahidin succeeded in bringing to Nangarhar approximately 20-25,000 fighters, well armed with all kinds of weapons, including heavy ones, right up to tanks and armoured personnel carriers.

The degree of the provision of the insurgents with communication means, mainly Japanese-made portable radio stations, is high.

The supply services of the Eleventh and Eighteenth Divisions of the Pakistani Armed Forces have played and are playing the main role in transporting a huge amount of weapons and equipment. Army lorries painted for camouflage and without plate numbers as well as helicopters ferry supplies onto Afghan territory. The operation is being monitored by Lieutenant-Colonel Mahbub Shah [name as received] one of the leading officers of the Pakistani counterintelligence service, who moved to Towr Kham by the beginning of the offensive.

Among opposition detachments, there is a large number of foreign advisers, mainly Pakistani, Arab and American ones, many of whom died in the fighting. Pakistani border militia take an active part in combat operations.

Preparations for an assault did not pass unnoticed. The group of government troops in Nangarhar received reinforcements in both personnel (Jalalabad is now being defended by more than 15,000 servicemen) and combat hardware. Measures were taken to ensure the delivery of supplies to the garrison. The monitoring of the approaching convoys with supplies along the Jalalabad-Kabul road were enhanced and defence positions in the area of the airport were fortified.

All these measures contributed to foiling the plans of the insurgents. The city held out, although at the price of heavy losses at the first stage of the offensive—up to 4,000 men killed and wounded. The mujahidin managed to achieve certain successes. They closely approached the airfield and forced their way into Samarkheyl settlement which is near Jalalabad. Later on, as a result of counterattacks by government troops, the enemy was pressed back from the airfield and lost a number of positions in Samarkheyl.

The second attack on Jalalabad began at midday on March 25 but petered out by the evening. As is pointed out by officers of the General Staff of the Afghan Armed Forces, the attack was not as intensive as the first one, with the insurgents relying to a greater extent on massive bombardments rather than on a frontal attack. As a result, the attacking forces within three weeks lost 6,500-7,000 men killed and wounded. The losses of the defenders of the city are also big. There are many casualties among civilian population.

In the latest interviews to Western mass media, commanders of the detachments of "intransigents" voiced notes of disillusionment with the Peshawar-based leaders and showed signs of declining morale following the unsuccessful assaults on Jalalabad and the tremendous losses which are difficult to compensate even through indiscriminate recruitment of refugees in camps on Pakistani territory or by bringing mujahidin detachments from other Afghan provinces.

The insurgents' position is also being complicated by the fact that they failed to ensure complete unity of groups of different party affiliations. The commanders of detachments of a number of opposition organizations are gloatingly watching the efforts being made by the "Islamic Parties of Afghanistan" led by Hikmatyar and Khalis and by the "Islamic Front for the Liberation of Afghanistan" led by Sayyaf to seize the city, and are sending only symbolic contingents there to designate their participation in the "common" cause.

A practically complete front with an overall length of 25 km has been formed around the city by now, with the insurgents being at a distance of about 1.5 km from the airfield.

Jalalabad defenders are continuously subjected to bombardments and have been fighting without replacement for three weeks now, but the morale of the army, the guard and Interior Ministry troops is high enough.

The three-week-long experience in repulsing the attacks inspired the confidence of Afghan servicemen in their strength and their determination not only to hold out but to attack as well. However, so far all actions of the command are aimed at organizing such an active defence which would inflict the maximum damage upon the attackers.

The opposition would like very much to "close" the Jalalabad issue before April 7—the beginning of the Moslem fasting—when pressure on the beseiged city will naturally slacken. The coming two weeks will apparently become decisive in many respects in the development of the situation in Nangarhar.

Afghan Rebels Succeed in 'Encircling' Jalalabad

PM2803130789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Roundup prepared by Yevg. Bay in Moscow and A. Ivanko in Kabul: "The Patrons of the Opposition Are Reviewing Their Assessments"]

[Text] [Bay] With the active support of the Pakistani militia, formations of the irreconcilable opposition have mounted yet another large-scale offensive against Jalalabad. Tanks, armored personnel carriers, and other military hardware have been used against units of the Afghan Army. The latest attack has been beaten off. Sixteen tanks and armored personnel carriers and 6 rocket launchers have been destroyed by artillery fire from the government forces.

The mujahidin's lack of success in storming Jalalabad is forcing many Western governments to review their assessments of the prospective development of events in Afghanistan. The newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES notes in a dispatch from Washington that "the difficulties the rebels have encountered in their attempts to capture Jalalabad have forced Bush administration officials to review their optimistic forecasts about an early fall of the Afghan Government."

The Afghan rebels declared on Thursday that they have succeeded in encircling Jalalabad, but they are clearly a long way from capturing the country's third largest city, CBS correspondent B. Kvint [name as transliterated] notes in a report from Pakistan. The rebels have reverted to their usual guerrilla tactics after the large-scale attacks proved ineffective. Leaders of the rebel detachments are now claiming that they control the airport and the road linking the city with Kabul. The government forces, however, are firmly entrenched in the city. It is becoming clear that the rebels have committed one of the most serious mistakes of the whole war by launching an offensive based on political rather than military considerations. The attackers have lost 500 people killed during the 2 weeks of fighting, compared with 2,000 killed in the course of the entire past year.

And what is happening in Kabul? We have asked our special correspondent to give us a report.

[Ivanko] The city's intersections and state institutions are guarded by soldiers with machineguns, while armored personnel carriers are standing by, he reports. In one of the streets I saw a vehicle crammed with people in national garb with Kalashnikovs swung over their shoulders. They had arrived from Herat. They want to help defend Kabul.

Meanwhile many ministries are deserted. We walked along corridors, past closed offices; silence reigned. "Most of the officials have become soldiers," Farid Mazdak, candidate member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo told us. Naser [name as transliterated], a spokesman of the Afghan Foreign Ministry Information Department, specifies: "Of the 90 people who make up our staff, 70 have gone to defend the airport."

Under the state of emergency that has been declared, state security organ staff have been able to uncover tens of arms caches containing weapons and explosives intended for terrorist acts. A few days ago, staff of one of the directorates of the Ministry of State Security discovered an uninhabited house in the No 6 district of Kabul where a large quantity of weapons, counterfeit money, and propaganda literature was found; 26 people were arrested, and an investigation is under way. Some 700 kg of explosives alone were confiscated.

Jalalabad Rebels Planning 'Position Warfare'

PM2803111089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by D. Meshchaninov in Moscow, A. Ivanko in Kabul: "Afghanistan: Fighting in Progress Near Jalalabad"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Meshchaninov] Military failures are adversely affecting the opposition forces' morale and leading to exacerbation of the already serious contradictions between armed groupings of various party affiliations. Reports are coming in from Kabul on bloody clashes between rebels in the provinces of Herat and Laghman and in other parts of the country. In the region of Pashtun Zarghun, for instance, there was fighting between detachments of G. Hikmatyar's "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" and the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan," as a result of which eight people were killed.

A group of high-ranking Afghan military men, headed by Defense Minister Shahnawaz Tanai, flew to Jalalabad a few days ago to assess the situation on the spot. After returning to Kabul they briefed journalists on the exisitng situation. Our special correspondent reports from the Afghan capital.

[Ivanko] In the opinion of the military, the city's defense is well organized, long-term weapon emplacements have been prepared, and patrols operate around the clock. There are problems, of course; the soldiers have been fighting for 3 weeks almost without a break, their morale is high, but they are tired. The minister visited the front line of defense, in particular a battery of 76-mm guns deployed at a distance of 900 meters from the enemy. The soldiers assured him that, despite their losses, they will stand to the last.

The military men visited the military hospital, where there are now 185 patients. The question of evacuating the seriously wounded to Kabul was raised. The damage is plain to see in Jalalabad. As a result of shelling in recent days, apartment blocks, a school, and a mosque have been damaged.

In the opinion of military experts, the enemy grouping now consists of 21,000-25,000 men. In 3 weeks of fighting they have sustained considerable losses in men killed and wounded. The figure is around 6,500-7,000.

The opposition forces are a well organized army today. Control of troops is exercised to a high standard—the groups' commanding officers have special Japanese radios. According to radio interception information, during an offensive, 15-20 radio stations operate simultaneously. The mujahidin form artillery groupings, carry out preparatory fire purposefully, and use heavy artillery.

Whereas formerly the rebels attacked from various directions, experts believe they are now trying to concentrate their forces in a single salient, where they have built trenches and well fortified emplacements. The muhajidin are preparing for position warfare. The situation remains complex. The opposition has not abandoned the aim of capturing the city; the main events could still lie ahead. The mujahidin are supplied with reinforcements, arms, and ammunition from Pakistan.

High Morale of Jalalabad's Defenders Noted

PM2803150389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[R. Nadezhdin dispatch: "By Jalalabad's Walls. Afghan Army Fighting Spirit Not Broken"]

[Text] Kabul—These days the entire people of Afghanistan are following the events in the Jalalabad region. Despite huge losses, the Peshawar opposition leaders are continuing their attempts to capture the city with the support of their Pakistani bosses, throwing more and more reinforcements into the battle.

Government troops are firmly holding on to their positions, inflicting counterstrikes against regions where extremists are based. Dozens of helicopters are landing at Jalalabad airfield every day, delivering ammunition for the city's defenders. What is the combat ability and morale of Afghan Army soldiers today, more than 1 month after the Soviet troop pullout? I put this question to the Republic's Ministry of Defense. My first interlocutor was General 'Abdul Wahid:

"The Republic inherited the Afghan Army from the royal regime. To make you feel the difference, I wish to cite just one example. In the royal army a soldier received 30 afghanis and a piece of soap each month. Clothing was issued once every 2 years, and even then they tried to palm off old, worn clothes onto the soldiers. Today a soldier receives 2,000 afghanis, while in certain units his pay reaches 14,000-15,000 afghanis a month, which is almost as much as a general makes.

"Of course," 'Abdul Wahid admitted, "We do get among the draftees unstable people, cowards, and people whom the enemy specially infiltrates into our ranks to incite soldiers to desert. But, on the whole, there has recently been a sharp reduction in cases of desertion and draft evasion. A definite role has been played here by the institution of mullahs, which has been created in the Army and is headed by Army Chief Mullah Mawlawi 'Abdul Wajed [name as published]. Mullahs serve on an equal footing with everyone. There have been cases where soldier-mullahs have taken up arms and led fighters into an attack.

"In recent weeks," the general continued, "the Army has been given a strong impetus by members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, who captivate others by their example. Special officer battalions have been formed. Staff officers now serve for 10 days at a time at posts guarding the approaches to Kabul. In the Jalalabad region the opposition has succeeded in winning over a number of local tribes. The enemy was so confident of success that he prepared camel caravans and dozens of trucks to bring plundered property out of Jalalabad. They are now being used to bring out the dead and injured. The offensive is along three lines: detachments recruited from local tribes are sent ahead, to be followed by formations of the 'Alliance of Seven.' Last come Pakistani Army and 'militia' units, which shoot those who try to retreat. During the first days of fighting, the interventionists managed to dislodge our units from certain security posts. More than 10,000 rockets rained down on the city. There were instances when Afghan Army soldiers abandoned security posts and retreated. But the city garrison withstood the first onslaught. And then it was reinforced with fresh reserves arriving from Laghman Province. A detachment of approximately 400 men joined the battle straightway and beat back the enemy from the positions he had taken. I can confidently state that the Army withstood the interventionists' onslaught, rebuffed them, and is now itself inflicting strikes on the enemy."

My next interlocutor was 40-year-old Colonel Ghulam Rasul Parvani, who has been directly involved in many combat operations in various parts of the country.

"After the limited contingent of Soviet troops returned home," he said, "our units were entrusted with guarding the Hayratan-Kabul road of life. Post No 34 in the hamlet of Bate-Lala, which overlooks the Salang route, was guarded by 12 fighters under the command of officers Maaruf and Islamudin. Opposition detachments of superior strength tried repeatedly to dislodge the post's defenders. The post held out courageously. Then rockets were fired at it for a whole 24 hours. When we managed to make our way through to the post, we discovered only the burned bodies of our comrades. All the magazines and cartridge pouches were empty, and the fighters had fought to the last cartridge. Fighters commanded by Captain Kazeli had defended Post No 39 equally courageously. They were all volunteers there. They all died in combat. Not one of them wavered or yielded to the enemy's calls to surrender. And these are not isolated incidents. The chief point I would like to emphasize is that soldiers have today lost their fear of the enemy. Fighting spirit is high."

Major General Nurullah, chief of staff of the Afghan Air Force and of the capital's air defense, received me in his office at the moment an operation that had just ended in the Jalalabad region was being analyzed.

"Throughout the past week," the general began his account, "the Air Force was engaged in inflicting strikes on the aggressor in the Jalalabad region. Airmen work at full stretch and even rest sitting in the cockpit so as to lose no time in case of a battle alert. Each pilot makes an average of 7 combat sorties every 24 hours, while Colonel Mustafa made 11 in 24 hours. Only airmen can understand what kind of load this is, as only two or three sorties are made in an ordinary combat situation. You ask about the effectiveness of Air Force operations. They have inflicted telling blows on the enemy: He has suffered great losses and been forced to retreat. The Air Force has prevented the approach of weapons and ammunition convoys that proceed from Pakistan to the region of fighting. Our airmen intercept and destroy them. As many as 100-120 aircraft sorties a day are made in the Jalalabad region. Incidentally, Mujadeddi, head of the so-called transitional government, recently declared in public that opposition detachments had taken Jalalabad airfield. I have just talked with helicopter crews who delivered reinforcements and ammunition there and returned safely.

"We lost two aircraft during the fighting," the general said. "Scorning danger so as to hit targets more accurately, our airmen fly at low altitudes, down to 300 meters. This is dangerous, but it is hard to stop them. They burn with the desire to beat the enemy. Afghans have always fought successfully against foreign invaders, and now that they realize war is being waged against the Pakistani aggressor, they are ready to fight to the end. Our slogan today is 'Motherland or Death!' The Republic's Armed Forces are taking a decisive test of strength. And they are taking it not on parade to the strains of a band, but by the walls of Jalalabad to the whistling of bullets and shell bursts. In very heavy fighting they are proving their right to be called defenders of the motherland and the revolution. Military failures affect the opposition's morale. The commanding officers of Pakistani units and opposition detachments have issued orders to finish off the injured on the spot and burn the bodies or cut off the heads of dead 'militiamen' so they cannot be recognized by their characteristic haircut. All this is being done to conceal their losses and prevent the return of bodies to Pakistan so as not to arouse the indignation of relatives."

PLO Stresses Mideast Conference in U.S. Talks

PM2803135789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent S. Filatov and TASS correspondent V. Lagutin: "PLO-United States: Second Round"]

[Text] Tunis, 23 Mar—The second round of talks between PLO and U.S. delegations was held in the Tunisian capital. Just like at the first meeting last December, they were headed by Y. Abd Rabbuh, member of the PLO Executive Committee, and U.S. Ambassador to Tunisia R. Pelletreau. The delegation heads told journalists that the meeting embarked on "in-depth discussion of the general political situation" in the Near East and that "some progress has emerged in the dialogue."

Y. Abd Rabbuh noted in a press release that, for its part, the PLO delegation especially emphasized the need to convene an international peace conference on the Near East. In the delegation's opinion, it is necessary to begin preparations for the conference in the course of UN Security Council meetings between its five permanent members and in the course of bilateral meetings between the different sides involved in the conflict. The PLO will aim for universal recognition of the Palestinian people's fundamental rights and categorically rejects "illusory projects" suggested by Israel such as, for example, "elections under conditions of occupation."

It was explained to the U.S. delegation that the "intifadah" is the Palestinians' movement against occupation and that it will continue until the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab lands occupied by Tel Aviv. This occupation is today "the main source of tension and of the danger of an explosion in the region." The PLO affirmed its readiness to continue the dialogue with the United States and develop it as part of overall preparations for the international conference.

R. Pelletreau pointed out in his statement that discussion during the meeting focused on "practical steps that might be taken to ease tension in the occupied territories." In the U.S. view, "a new situation is developing" in the Near East today and the present dialogue is one of its "important components."

It is necessary to single out the main point at the second round of talks. This was the first time the United States declared the need to guarantee "the Palestinian people's legitimate political rights." In this way the United States, without abandoning support for Israel, displayed its realization that the Palestinian question should and must be solved on a fair basis. This represents a serious and fundamental change in its positions.

Judging by the delegation leaders' statements, the U.S.-Palestinian talks will continue, although a date for the next meeting has not been set.

Iran's Khomeyni Gives New Year Remarks

PM2403124589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[REUTER report under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Teletype Room. Tuesday": "Ayatollah Khomeyni's Admission"]

[Text] Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni has urged the world's 1 billion Muslims to work more strenuously not for the sake of personal success and bodily desires but in the name of Allah's great victory.

In a message published on the eve of the Iranian new year the spiritual leader admitted that he himself has not yet succeeded in achieving this high ideal, and he remains a prey to his bodily desires. "I hope that the Iranian nation and other Muslims of the world will be able to change themselves so that they can work for the good of Allah and not for the sake of personal successes and bodily desires," Iran's IRNA agency reported Khomeyni to have said.

His message followed a tough speech on Tehran Radio in which he warned "liberals" and "spineless mullahs" among the ruling clergy not to oppose the death sentence he passed on Rushdie.

East Europe

Polish Trade Minister Visits Moscow 20-21 Mar

Meets With Talyzin, Katushev

PM2803121589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 20-21 March a working meeting took place between K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic ties, and D. Jastrzebski, Polish minister of foreign economic cooperation.

D. Jastrzebski was received by N.V. Talyzin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Discusses Talks, Trade Ties

LD2103234489 Warsaw PAP in English 2315 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, March 21—Poland's Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Dominik Jastrzebski, ending today his two-day visit here, was received by Soviet Vice-Premier Nikolay Talyzin and met with Soviet Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev to discuss development of Polish-Soviet economic cooperation.

The turnover between the two countries was defined in the intergovernmental settlements for the years 1986-1990 at the level of 74 billion roubles. A considerably greater growth of Polish exports to the USSR (9 percent yearly on the average) than imports from that country (2.7 percent yearly) is planned. Poland is to export to the Soviet Union goods of the total value of 37.7 billion roubles and to purchase there products worth 36.4 billion roubles.

New forms of cooperation are to be developed. 380 enterprises in each country have already been cooperating with their partners, 8 mixed organizations operate in the USSR. Further applications for forming 9 joint enterprises in Poland and 18 in the USSR are being considered.

During my meetings with the representatives of the Soviet Government and in the CPSU CC [Central Committee], said Dominik Jastrzebski at a press conference held here today, I made several concrete proposals concerning, for instance, formation of a joint enterprise whose task would be to facilitate contacts between producers, services and trade units from both countries and possibilities for creating an economic zone, termed arbitrarily a "Hong Kong mutation", in which common production for the Soviet market would be organized. The proposals were received with interest.

Answering a question whether opinions that Poland gives priority to cooperation with Western countries are justified, Minister Jastrzebski said that such views result from misunderstanding. Since I was appointed minister, continued Dominik Jastrzebski, I have never thought that the Polish economy can function properly without ever wider, closer and more modern cooperation with the Soviet Union.

I think, concluded the Polish minister, that we should initiate numerous and varied common undertakings with the Soviet partner involving foreign capital and modern techniques and technologies of highly developed countries in the activity.

CPSU's Falin Receives Polish Official

PM2703142189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] A conversation took place 21 March between V.M. Falin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and T. Mlynczak, chairman of the Democratic Party Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Polish State Council, who was taking part in the work of the 12th Congress of USSR Consumer Cooperatives.

GDR's Honecker Cited on Relations With FRG

PM2203140989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Steps Toward Disarmament"]

[Text] Berlin, 13 Mar—Following the commencement of the disarmament process as a result of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles between the USSR and the United States, it is necessary to take further disarmament steps, to reinforce the turn for the better in international relations, and to prevent a return to confrontation. This was stated by E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council; and J. Rau, prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia and deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party.

During talks in Leipzig E. Honecker stressed that the GDR supports the USSR's unilateral disarmament measures. The first Soviet military units will be withdrawn from the GDR this year. In order to demonstrate its willingness to disarm through concrete action the GDR has decided to reduce the republic's National People's Army by 10,000 men and defense spending by 10 percent by the end of 1990. It is to be hoped that the FRG will follow suit and contribute to disarmament. It is important to pursue a policy of mutual security and strive to ensure that both military alliances lack any opportunity to launch an attack.

E. Honecker pointed out that the GDR attaches great importance to ties with the FRG. Both states should use their relations to promote detente and to build a "common European home." He stressed that relations between the two German states will develop constructively if they are guided by mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and by noninterference in each other's internal affairs.

The talk participants expressed satisfaction with the high level of relations achieved between the GDR and North Rhine-Westphalia.

Vorotnikov at Hungarian Anniversary Meeting

PM2203140189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Memorable Date"]

[Text] It is 70 years since the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. This memorable date was marked by a festive meeting of representatives of Moscow working people, held in the House of the Unions Hall of Columns 20 March.

The presidium included V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium; B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; leaders of a number of ministries and departments; representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations; and military leaders. It also included an MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] delegation headed by B. Katona, secretary of the Budapest City MSZMP Committee; a Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society delegation headed by its General Secretary G. Biro; and Hungary's ambassador to the USSR, S. Rajnai.

The creation of a proletarian state in Hungary in the spring of 1919, the speakers noted, became a vivid event in the history of the Hungarian and international communist and workers' movement. The Hungarian Soviet Republic, which embodied the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution, collapsed under the blows by the reaction, but its influence on all of the country's subsequent history was tremendous. The prospect of national rebirth on a socialist basis paved its way. It was emphasized at the meeting that the comradely solidarity born out of the revolutionary struggle waged by Soviet Russia and the Hungarian Soviet Republic withstood the test of time.

Speakers expressed gratification that the policy of renewal is being expressed in the establishment of new and increasingly broad contacts between the two countries' enterprises, organizations, and public. Soviet-Hungarian ties are strengthening in the spheres of ideology, science, and culture, and the meetings between CPSU and MSZMP leaders exert a guiding influence on the shaping of the relations of friendship and brotherhood. Through the implementation of transformations, the peoples of the Soviet Union and Hungary are making joint efforts to help reveal the creative potential of socialism and strengthen the cause of peace and security in Europe and all over the world.

G. Biro spoke about the development of the process of democratization and renewal in Hungary and the efforts to implement economic reform and reform of political institutions and to further strengthen fraternal ties. He emphasized that the renewal and enrichment of Hungarian-Soviet collaboration serve the solution of the tasks of the improvement of socialism.

On the same day S. Rajnai, embassy staff members, and the MSZMP and Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society delegations visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. Flowers were laid at the B. Kun memorial plaque on the former Comintern building and the burial place of Hungarian revolutionary E. Landler by the Kremlin Wall.

S. Rajnai gave a reception to mark the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

The reception was attended by V.I. Vorotnikov, B.L. Tolstykh, and other officials. The MSZMP and Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society delegations were also present.

Hungarian Leaders Greeted on 70th Anniversary

PM2303094389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Soviet leadership organs' greetings to Hungarian counterparts on the anniversary of the 1919 republic]

[Text] To the MSZMP Central Committee
The Hungarian People's Republic Presidential Council
The Hungarian People's Republic Council of Ministers

Dear Comrades!

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the whole Soviet people we send to you, the MSZMP Central Committee, the Hungarian People's Republic Presidential Council and Council of Ministers, and the Hungarian people cordial greetings and best wishes on the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

The creation in Hungary in the spring of 1919 of a proletarian state which embodied the ideas of Great October and the Hungarian people's revolutionary-democratic traditions was a bright event in the history of the Hungarian and international communist and workers movement. The Hungarian Soviet Republic collapsed under the blows of reactionary forces, but the prospect of national rebirth on a socialist basis made headway and has been implemented on Hungarian soil for over 40 years now.

The comradely solidarity born out of the revolutionary struggle waged by Soviet Russia and the Hungarian Soviet Republic withstood the tests of time and evolved into an international alliance between the Soviet and Hungarian peoples. We are convinced that the renewal and enrichment of our collaboration are of tremendous help in solving the immediate tasks of improving socialism and consolidating its prestige and international positions.

Celebrating with you the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, we sincerely wish the communists and working people of people's Hungary successes in solving the tasks of socialist renewal.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee
USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
USSR Council of Ministers

* Limited Currency Market Opened in Hungary

WA18250113 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 5 Mar 89 p 1

[TASS report from Budapest]

[Text] The work being carried out in Hungary now for the opening of a limited currency market will facilitate foreign currency operations for Hungarian enterprises. During the first phase the many commercial banks that have recently been established in Hungary will serve only as middlemen in currency operations between enterprises and the National Bank of Hungary (MNB). Next year, however, they will be authorized to carry out financial transactions independently.

Nevertheless, according to the Hungarian press, the MNB will still oversee the currency operations. In the opinion of Hungarian experts, the complete decentralization of foreign currency operations would be quite risky under present conditions. The country's main bank has been empowered to adjust the exchange rate of the forint in relation to convertible currency, but only within a fairly limited range. This will be done according to the demand for particular currencies, the value of the foreign bills of exchange the bank is holding, and several other factors.

The opening of the limited currency market will facilitate transactions for Hungarian enterprises. Experts believe that this represents a new and important step toward the establishment of a flexible banking system, capable of reacting quickly and appropriately to world economic stimuli and of strengthening the position of the forint.

West Europe

Finnish Foreign Minister Concludes Visit

Talks With Shevardnadze

PM2903104789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report on 28 March meeting between USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and Finnish Foreign Minister P. Paasio under the heading: "New Impetus"]

[Text] Talks took place on 28 March between CPSU Central Committee Politburo member E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister; and P. Paasio, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Finland.

A detailed exchange of views on a wide range of questions of Soviet-Finnish relations and the world situation took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere, which is traditional for relations between the two countries.

The ministers noted with satisfaction that the manysided cooperation between our countries is developing successfully and progressively on the firm basis of the 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. They are convinced of the abiding value of this document, which signified a radical turn away from enmity toward friendship and trust in relations between the USSR and Finland. In the years which have passed a structure of mutually advantageous cooperation has been set up, unique in its ramifications and volume, in which the principles of civilized, good-neighborly relations, and respect for one another's interests have been reliably established. This is an important factor of peace and stability in northern Europe and on the continent as a whole.

The sides confirmed their accord that the official visit of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to Finland will take place this autumn. It was noted unanimously that in both countries this visit is seen as a major event designed to impart a mighty boost of renewal to the entire complex of cooperation between the USSR and Finland. The ministers are convinced that the meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and Finland will become an important milestone in restructuring international relations on the principles of the supremacy of values common to all mankind, and of the building of a common European home.

E. Shevardnadze and P. Paasio noted with satisfaction that signs of positive changes are becoming more distinct in today's world. The intensity of dialogue is growing, the lack of trust between the East and the West is being overcome, and the international community has a good chance of entering a period of peace and creative construction. Purposeful efforts and constructive cooperation by all states are required to consolidate these beneficial tendencies.

The ministers came out for the speediest attainment of an accord on reducing by half the strategic offensive armaments of the USSR and the United States, and against bringing weapons into space. The USSR and Finland see the conclusion of a convention on banning and completely eliminating chemical weapons as a priority task.

The interlocutors came out for reviving the role of the United Nations as a unique tool for humanizing and internationalizing international relations. The Soviet

Union welcomes the election of Finland as a nonpermanent member of the UN Security Council, regarding this as an acknowledgement by the international community of Finland's contribution to the cause of security and cooperation.

The Finnish side stated that it values and understands the philosophical and conceptual ideas and practical proposals contained in M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech. It welcomed the Soviet Union's decision to unilaterally reduce the numerical strength of its troops and armaments, which creates good prerequisites for considerably decreasing the level of military confrontation in Europe and the whole world.

E.A. Shevardnadze informed P. Paasio that within the framework of these unilateral reductions, the personnel of the Leningrad Military District and the northern navy would be reduced by about 20,000.

In the past few years 700 tanks have also been withdrawn from the north European part of the USSR and there are currently no large tank units there. The Finnish minister received this statement with satisfaction.

The foreign ministers of the two countries unanimously assessed the final document of the Vienna meeting of the representatives of CSCE states as an historic step, thanks to which the all-European process is reaching qualitatively new levels.

The sides stressed the importance of the negotiations which have begun in Vienna on conventional armed forces and confidence and security-building measures in Europe. The Soviet minister especially noted the importance of extending the confidence and security-building measures which encompass Europe to the adjacent seas and the air space above the continent.

The ministers devoted special attention to a detailed examination of the realization of the set of large-scale initiatives put forward in Murmansk by M.S. Gorbachev with a view to reducing military confrontation and setting up all-round cooperation in the north of our planet. The sides noted that the Murmansk program is drawing the ever wider and interested attention of the sociopolitical circles of the northern states. A whole range of proposals in the sphere of economic, scientific, and ecological cooperation are being transferred actively to the field of practical affairs. This benefits the consolidation of security and stability in the region, assists the development of interaction between the countries, and promotes the strengthening of the northern dimension of our common European home.

The ministers stressed that M.S. Gorbachev's proposals on a radical reduction in the level of military confrontation in the north, and the well-known proposals by Finland on the setting up of a nonnuclear zone in the north of Europe and on measures to strengthen trust in the naval sphere contain immense constructive potential. The uncovering of this potential will open up additional prospects for the consolidation of peace, stability, and mutual understanding.

E.A. Shevardnadze informed P. Paasio that the USSR, striving to assist the process of setting up a nonnuclear zone in the north of Europe, has withdrawn two submarines equipped with ballistic missiles from its Baltic Fleet as a gesture of goodwill.

The sides noted the acute need for an expansion of international cooperation on issues of ecology, both on a bilateral and a multilateral basis. The Soviet minister told his Finnish colleague about the USSR's agreement to take part in a conference of Arctic states on issues of protecting the Actic environment, proposed by Finland, and gave a high appraisal of this initiative.

Great attention at the talks was paid to the tasks of putting the trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and Finland on a path of deeper partnership. The sides stressed their mutual commitment to the even more vigorous introduction of new forms of joint enterprise. This includes the setting up of joint enterprises on the territory of the USSR, of which there are already more than 40; the development, by combined efforts, of the natural wealth of the Kola Peninisula; and the development of production cooperation. It also includes such a unique matter as the creation in the future of a free trade zone on the territory of Leningrad Oblast adjacent to the Soviet-Finnish border.

The ministers agreed on the maintenance of regular contacts at various levels between the Foreign Ministries of both countries.

The following took part in the talks: on the Soviet side, V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister; B.I. Aristov, Soviet ambassador to Finland; and N.N. Uspenskiy and Yu.S. Deryabin, heads of USSR Foreign Ministry departments. On the Finnish side were H. Talvitie, Finnish ambassador to the Soviet Union; J. Blumberg, head of a Finnish Foreign Ministry department; and other officials.

On the same day, E.A. Shevardnadze gave a lunch in honor of the guest.

In the evening, the Finnish foreign minister left for home.

Gorbachev To Visit Finland

LD2803143489 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1300 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] During his brief visit to the USSR, Foreign Minister Pertti Paasio got what he apparently intended to get. A satisfied-looking Paasio gave this account of the result of his talks:

[Begin Paasio recording] This was a typical working visit, in which we talked about both bilateral issues and broader international issues, about Europe and other things too.

The most important fact which ought to be mentioned here is that Foreign Minister Shevardnadze confirmed that President and General Secretary Gorbachev will be visiting Finland this fall, and we decided to start preparations immediately. [end recording]

The visit of President and General Secretary Gorbachev was raised at the initiative of the hosts. No definite date has yet been given; at the conference table they talked vaguely of the fall. Details of the timetable for the visit will now begin to be settled at the official level. At the same time a communique of the visit will be formulated. Paasio says the question is now off the agenda. In Finland there has been much and intensive talk of Gorbachev's visit. The obstacle has been the general secretary's tight schedule, into which it has been hard to fit Finland. Gorbachev already has visits to Cuba, Britain, China, and France ahead of him.

Talks between Paasio and Shevardnadze lasted more than 2 hours. The meeting place was the Soviet Foreign Ministry's guest villa. In addition to the general secretary's visit, the talks covered a large number of bilateral and international political issues. They included the new border crossing points, for which preparatory work is continuing. In economic affairs there was a discussion of the two countries' attitude toward the European Community. Finland stressed that the assurance of trade advantages is to be sought through the strengthening of the European Free Trade Association. On this occasion there were no actual trade talks.

Environmental Conference Supported

LD2803165189 Helsinki International Service in Finnish 1500 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Excerpt] President Mikhail Gorbachev, Soviet party leader, will visit Finland in the fall. The visit was announced by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to Foreign Minister Pertti Paasio, who is on a working visit in Moscow. The exact date for Gorbachev's visit to Finland has however, not yet been given. Martti Hosia reports:

[Begin Hosia recording] The proposal Finland made earlier about an environmental conference of Arctic countries has now received the official support of the Soviet Union. Northern Europe was also in other ways strongly stressed in the discussions. The Soviet Union stressed that the armament of sea areas must be taken into account when disarmament is discussed. Finland for its part expressed its concern about long-range cruise missiles. In addition the discussions referred to the disarmament talks in Vienna, the situation in Afghanistan, and shortly also the elections just held in the Soviet Union. [passage omitted] [end recording]

France's Dumas Departs Moscow for Home

LD2803203289 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas on Tuesday left Moscow. In the Soviet capital he attended the opening of an exhibition, "The Art of the 20th Century in France: the Epoch of Discoveries," which is held in the USSR in connection with the bicentenary of the great French Revolution.

Roland Dumas today met Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardndze.

French Socialists Violate Pact With Communists

PM2203155589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 89 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Vladimir Bolshakov "Correspondent's Comment": "The Lessons of the Second Round"]

[Excerpts] Paris—The second round of municipal elections, which were considered especially important here, have been held in France. [passage omitted]

French Communists, embarking on an election alliance with the Socialists, repeatedly emphasized that victory by left-wing forces in the second round could be ensured only through unity and rigorous adherence to the main condition of this alliance—if a Socialist candidate gained a majority of votes in the first round, voters who voted for Communists must vote for him in the second round. Socialists should do the same for Communist candidates who gained victory in the first round. Unfortunately, Socialists did not adhere to this condition in places. Observers spoke yesterday about voters who had voted for Socialists in the first round switching to right-wing party candidates who had gained victory in a number of cities. This is what happened, for example, in Amiens where, just as in a number of other electoral districts—as G. Marchais, secretary general of the French Communist Party, put it—"Socialist leaders' desire to weaken the Communist Party proved stronger than the need to struggle against the right wing and the ultraright wing." Despite this, however, Communists maintained their basic positions in most electoral districts. Communist mayors elected in 1983 were reelected in 48 of the 53 cities with a population in excess of 30,000, including Le Havre where the right wing fought a really fierce war. Compared with 1983, socialist candidates in a number of cities regained their positions and established themselves in major centers like Strasbourg, Mulhouse, Avignon, and Dunkerque.

Candidates of the Rally for the Republic [RPR]-Union for French Democracy [UDF] managed to squeeze out left-wing forces in a number of cities and to consolidate their former positions. For example, J. Chirac, RPR leader and former prime minister, was reelected mayor of Paris. But the right wing lost, for example, their traditional "stronghold" of Marseilles. It is indicative that moderate and liberal figures are now gathering strength in the right-wing camp. It must be said for fairness' sake that the losses suffered by the right wing could have been smaller had they joined in an alliance with Le Pen's party, which was officially turned down by RPR-UDF candidates. The result of this is that there will be virtually no representatives of the "National Front" in the municipalities of major cities. This reaffirms the trend which emerged last year in the course of elections for the National Assembly where there is not a single Le Pen man today.

Thus, the lessons of the second round of the elections are highly indicative. There was success in consolidating the 1988 leftward swing, and this will certainly strengthen the positions of M. Rocard's government in parliament and in the Fifth Republic as a whole.

Foreign Ministry Aide on USSR-UK Summit

PM2703160789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Mar 89 First Edition p 5

[Interview with N.N. Uspenskiy, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Second European Department, by TASS political observer A. Balebanov for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "USSR-Britain: To Strengthen Stability"; date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] During the first 10 days in April M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, will pay an official visit to Britain. People not only in our country but also abroad, notably in the British capital, are awaiting this visit with great interest. N.N. Uspenskiy, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Second European Department, today shares with readers his thoughts on the opportunities for the development of fruitful relations between our two countries.

[Balebanov] What is your opinion of the state of Soviet-British relations?

[Uspenskiy] According to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, USSR-British relations are better now than at any time since World War II. There are definite grounds for such an assessment. If you take December 1984 as a point of departure, when a Soviet parliamentary delegation headed by M.S. Gorbachev visited Britain, you can say that a new phase began then, a phase that has been characterized by a gradual transition from confrontation, polemics, and disputes to the strengthening of the bonds of cooperation.

In my opinion, Margaret Thatcher was one of the first leaders to realize that the Soviet Union that is emerging into the international arena more predictable, more open, and more democratic as a result of restructuring is of great interest to the West as a partner and does not pose the threat that people there—with or without justification and with or without exaggeration—saw in our country in recent years. However, everything is by no means smooth in Soviet-British relations.

[Balebanov] What are the main problems on which we clash with Britain?

[Uspenskiy] The main conceptual dispute is over the role of nuclear weapons. London firmly upholds the view that nuclear weapons are a boon and that they are necessary, and that nuclear deterrence should be retained as a principle. As is well known, we believe that there is no place for these weapons in a civilized world and that if any framework is to be created governing states' behavior toward one another, that framework should be moral, political, and legal, and not military.

But the existence of this source of disagreement is not an obstacle to the practical resolution of many problems: For instance, Britain played a considerable role in enabling the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles to become a reality. The Soviet Union and Britain are cooperating quite actively and to the benefit of all the participants in the Geneva talks in elaborating a concept on the banning of chemical weapons. It is the British who have made businesslike proposals relating to verification and inspection on demand. We have supported these proposals and given them proper consideration when elaborating a draft convention.

[Balebanov] What prospects do you see for Soviet-British political relations?

[Uspenskiy] Unlike the past, the USSR and Britain are now cooperating in the UN Security Council on such problems as, for instance, the conclusive settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict, the quest for ways to achieve a Near East settlement and to solve other regional conflicts, including certain aspects of the Afghan problem, although the British do have positions that are fundamentally at odds with our positions regarding, inter alia, their attitude toward that country's incumbent government and a number of opposition groupings.

Cooperation between our two countries' foreign ministries has developed appreciably. We have outlined a plan for developing this cooperation and for holding political consultations and meetings at the level of diplomatic departments. This plan is being actively implemented. Over the past 18 months our two countries' foreign ministers have met, I think, on about 14-15 occasions. Last year alone we had 18 rounds of political consultations encompassing virtually all spheres—from bilateral relations to the main problems of disarmament, world economics, foreign policy planning, and regional problems. There is also a large program of ties at parliamentary level.

[Balebanov] Is there interest in Britain in the Soviet Union and in developing contacts with it?

[Uspenskiy] The increase in British interest in our country is quite palpable. This has been stimulated by the process of restructuring under way in the USSR. More bilateral contacts have taken shape. Polemics and the desire "to rebuff" are being replaced increasingly frequently by a desire to better understand the interlocutor's viewpoint, actions, and motivation.

[Balebanov] What do you expect from M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Britain?

[Uspenskiy] Of course, a summit visit is always a major event where we sum up the results of a period of relations and lay the foundations for a new period. We hope that accords will be secured in the course of the talks in London that will help galvanize our cooperation still further and remove existing irritants. We hope that our relations will become stabler as result of the visit and enter a qualitatively new phase of development.

Possible Cooperation With UK on Africa Seen

PM2903151389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Tomas Kolesnichenko dispatch under the rubric "Correspondent Comments": "We Write Down Four But We Have Five in Mind"]

[Text] London, 28 Mar—Talks have been held in the Moroccan city of Marrakesh between King Hassan II of Morocco and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. The sides discussed the situation in the Near East, the problem of Western Sahara, the situation in the north African region, and questions of bilateral relations. Today M. Thatcher left for Nigeria.

If the "briefings" received by local journalists from M. Thatcher's entourage are to be believed, the British prime minister's visit to four African countries, which began Monday, is quite an ordinary foreign policy measure. Its aim, it is said, is simply to "build bridges" with distant African states. But even Thatcher's itinerary itself—Morocco, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, and Malawi—indicates the great significance attached to this trip.

Morocco directly borders NATO's southern flank and is the strategically important "link" between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Winston Churchill realized this, and his frequent visits to Marrakesh were by no means just for a vacation. Morocco is directly involved—although not in the "front line"—in the Near East conflict, and the king's moderate position enables Thatcher to stress her "general interest" in a speedy settlement of the conflict. The main concern is to show Britain's readiness to be an arbiter in the dispute. In Marrakesh Thatcher called on Israel, for example, to begin talks with the PLO.

Zimbabwe and Malawi are "Frontline States." Beyond them is the Republic of South Africa [RSA]. In my view, therefore, it is a question of London's active involvement in extremely sensitive spheres of world politics, which is obviously aimed at raising the prestige in the international arena both of Britain itself and of its prime minister in the role of peacemaker.

Another no less important aspect is to spread the economic postulates of "Thatcherism" in Africa. In Thatcher's baggage there is a full set of "prescriptions" for economic recovery (this is precisely what is badly needed by the countries she is visiting) by boosting the private sector and reducing state expenditure... The promise of London's support, particularly in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the IMF, will serve as an enticement.

But all the same Thatcher does not have only four countries in her field of vision. She has a fifth one "in mind." And not even a country, but all of southern Africa. London has been one of the main "players" in this region, particularly recently. This is not surprising because British capital in the RSA is estimated at 11 billion pounds sterling. Specific new political prospects, which Thatcher is trying to utilize, have also opened up. The Washington administration is still engaged in "reviewing" U.S. policy priorities and is not demonstrating due activeness. A real opportunity emerged for London to take the initiative in the political process developing in this part of the world. Perhaps it is precisely for this reason that the British prime minister is ready to change the emphasis in her attitude toward the RSA. In recent statements she has invariably stressed that the Pretoria authorities must immediately free Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress [ANC] leader, and has put this forward as an essential precondition for political dialogue within the RSA. Although Thatcher has not given up her demand that the ANC cease the armed struggle, she sees this organization as a real political force. She is now telling the Pretoria authorities also to adopt this position.

The head of the British Government has not changed her position as regards sanctions against the RSA. She contrasts them to political dialogue, which, she says, is more effective. Thatcher apparently intends to persuade the "Frontline States" too that sanctions are "counterproductive," although it is quite clear that it is essential to put pressure on the RSA racist regime in all areas, including the application of sanctions in accordance with UN resolutions.

One last point, but a very important one: The British prime minister's trip is being made on the eve of her meeting with M.S. Gorbachev. Hence observers believe that the topic of southern Africa will be vigorously put forward by the British side in the talks with the Soviet leader.

Indeed, southern Africa occupies an important place on the list of regional conflicts. New opportunities are opening here for Soviet-British collaboration.

Disgraced Sub Commander 'Died in Labor Camp'

PM2803134189 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 18 Mar 89 p 14

[Helena Thorfinn report: "Submarine 137 Commander Gushchin Died in Labor Camp 5 Years Ago"]

[Text] According to an unconfirmed report, the commander of submarine 137, Mikhail Gushchin, died in a prison camp almost 5 years ago. The report was received by Commodore Karl Andersson through diplomatic channels Wednesday [15 March].

Information from official Soviet sources about what actually happened to Soviet submarine commander Gushchin when he returned home to the Soviet Union has been nonexistent.

Commodore Karl Andersson, who led the interrogation of the commander after submarine 137 ran aground in October 1981, received information several years ago that Gushchin was in a labor camp.

"I had no reason to doubt the information, because it was given to me unasked by a Soviet officer. He said that Gushchin was sentenced to 3 years in a labor camp."

Last Wednesday Karl Andersson heard through a Danish diplomat that Gushchin died 5 years ago in a labor camp.

"I was saddened. He was a good kid whom I had nothing against personally," Karl Andersson said, justifying the word "kid" with the explanation that Gushchin was no more than 30 when he maneuvered straight into a Swedish military zone with his submarine and became stuck there.

"I met him 25 times in 11 days. He was clearly devastated and shocked during the first interrogations, but recovered when, after 3 days, he received support from the Soviet authorities. He seemed to be very shy, but he was polite the whole time and helpful, unlike many of his colleagues on board."

At the Soviet Embassy in Stockholm Deputy Press Attache Andrey Kaliberdin said that the embassy staff has no information about Mikhail Gushchin. Kaliberdin made reference instead to an interview with Soviet Major General Petr Barabolya [name as published] published recently in AFTONBLADET.

In the interview Petr Barabolya said that Gushchin was not given a prison or labor camp sentence, but that his punishment was that he was demoted a grade and was banned from commanding submarines.

"I took account of his age. He wasn't even 30 and he was a very inexperienced commander," said Barabolya, who worked in the Soviet Navy's legal department, which passed the unofficial sentence on Gushchin.

The interview makes no mention of Gushchin's death. "We have no information," said Andrey Kaliberdin, who was however unwilling to comment on whether this is to be taken as a denial of Commodore Karl Andersson's report.

Merchant Marine Minister Visits FRG 19-24 Mar

LD2403163489 Moscow TASS in English 1529 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Bonn March 24 TASS—Urgent problems of international shipping and cooperation between the USSR and the FRG in this domain were discussed in the course of negotiations between the FRG Minister of Transport Jurgen Warnke and the Soviet Merchant Marine Minister Yuriy Volmer. The delegation of the Soviet Merchant Marine Ministry, which Yuriy Volmer headed, stayed in the FRG at the invitation of the West-German minister from March 19 through 24. It visited Hamburg, Lubeck, Kiel, Bremen, Bonn, Nurnberg and Regensburg, familiarizing itself with the organisation of sea and inland-water shipping in the FRG.

The negotiations showed that the stands and approaches of both sides to urgent problems of international shipping were on the whole identical. The sides discussed also ways of expanding bilateral relations in shipping, particularly the possibility of organising railway-ferry lines between ports of the two countries. Taking into account that the Council of Ministers of Lithuania was opposed to the use of the port of Klaypeda for this purpose out of ecological considerations, the sides explored the possibility of using another port in Kaliningrad region. As to the port in FRG territory, the most suitable one, it appears, is that of Lubeck. The sides reached agreement to set up a joint working group, which will draw up technical and economic substantiations of the project.

The talks with Bjoern Engholm, prime-minister of Schleswig-Holstein, with managers of the "Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft" (Kiel) and "Blohm and Voss" (Hamburg), showed that both sides are interested in building ships for the Soviet merchant marine at FRG yards. Concrete talks on this matter will be held shortly.

Discussed also was the question of arranging passenger cruises between FRG ports and some Baltic ports of the USSR, as well as the question of building passenger ships for this purpose, setting up joint enterprises.

Explored during a meeting at the Association of FRG Shipbuilders was the possibility of setting up joint-stock enterprises and promoting cooperation in international sea shipping. Discussed at this meeting also was the question of exchanging marine school students.

The FRG has expressed its intention to hold negotiations with all members of the 1948 Belgrade convention on the Danube shipping regime with a view to joining the convention.

Italian Communist Congress Concludes in Rome

PM2803091189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[PRAVDA and TASS correspondents N. Miroshnik, Yu. Lopatin, and N. Teterin dispatch: "Congress' Work Over"]

[Text] Rome, 22 Mar—The 18th Italian Communist Party [PCI] Congress ended here today. For 5 days more than 1,000 delegates representing the 1.5 million-strong detachment of Italian Communists discussed party policy at the contemporary stage, the tasks set by the development of Italian society, and the changes in the international arena.

Representatives of various political and social forces, both from Italy itself and abroad, took part in the work of the congress with the delegates. They included a CPSU delegation headed by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

It has already been reported that changes to the PCI statutes were approved late yesterday evening. In particular, secret ballots are now compulsory when electing all the party's leading executive organs, including the leadership and its secretary general. Only the PCI Central Committee and the federations' party committees will be elected openly. However, only 10 percent of the delegates need to demand it, and these bodies, too, will switch to secret ballots. The congress did not approve an amendment that would automatically make members of the party's Central Committee and other supreme leading organs full delegates to the congress: Leaders not elected delegates will continue to have only an advisory role at the congress. The Central Auditing Commission has been turned into the Central Safeguards Commission. At the suggestion of one delegate, an amendment was adopted enshrining in the text of the statutes a ban on smoking during sessions of party organs at all levels.

A political resolution and a resolution on preparations for the upcoming elections to the European Parliament were discussed today, the final day of the congress.

The political resolution approved the provisions of the PCI Central Committee precongress document and also the political report and final address delivered by A. Occhetto, PCI secretary general, at the congress and noted that the Communist Party's aim is to provide a feasible policy and government alternative within the framework of the new system of realigning various political forces within the country. Choosing in favor of the alternative should create conditions for new unity among leftist forces.

Amid the new phase of East-West detente, new opportunities are opening up for both Europe and Italy specifically to submit new initiatives, the resolution on questions of peace and disarmament adopted by the delegates says. In the last few years the first steps have been taken along the path of disarmament. This tremendously important fact indicates that it is possible to change trends. An accord has been secured on eliminating intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles in Europe, and serious talks have been initiated with a view to banning chemical weapons and reducing conventional arms on our continent. In his recent speech at the United Nations, M.S. Gorbachev announced the USSR's initiatives on unilateral disarmament. Thus, the West should now submit similar independent initiatives, which could actively promote further development of the disarmament process.

Criticizing the NATO plan to modernize tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, the authors of the resolution urged Italy and other West European governments to devote all their efforts against its implementation. In that way Italy could make a positive contribution to the process of detente by revising its decision to base the U.S. nuclear-capable fighter bombers being transferred from Spain on the country's territory. The resolution also carries an appeal for open discussion of NATO's role and strategy and the status of foreign military bases on Italian territory.

Individual resolutions were adopted on questions of combating racism, drug addiction, and organized crime.

The Central Committee and the Central Safeguards Commission were elected, concluding the work of the congress.

Condolences Sent on Death of Swiss Party Leader

PM2103115989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee condolence message to Swiss Labor Party on death of its honorary president, Jean Vincent]

[Text] To the Swiss Labor Party

Dear comrades,

The CPSU Central Committee sends profound condolences to the Swiss Labor Party Central Committee and to all Swiss communists and democrats on the death of Jean Vincent, eminent figure in the Swiss and international communist and workers movement and one of the founders of the Swiss Labor Party.

The Soviet Union knew Jean Vincent as a consistent internationalist and convinced advocate of the strengthening of fraternal links between the CPSU and the Swiss Labor Party and development of relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries' peoples.

Soviet Communists will always retain fine memories of Jean Vincent.

Please convey our sincere condolences to the deceased's relatives and friends.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee

Latin America & Caribbean

Cuban Press Center Prepares for Gorbachev Visit

LD2903065889 Moscow TASS in English 0630 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Havana March 29 TASS—Much attention is being attached in Cuba to the forthcoming visit of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Hector Argiles director of the international press centre which begins function in Havana on Wednesday, told TASS correspondents.

"We are now trying to create conditions as convenient as possible for the work of all foreign and local journalists who arrive here to cover the event", he said.

"At least 600 foreign journalists are expected to come to Cuba for this purpose. Judging by preliminary applications, an immense interest in the event has been shown by the mass media of the United States, Western Europe, Latin America and, of course, socialist countries".

"It was with immense enthusiasm that the Cubans took the news of the forthcoming arrival of the Soviet leader whose personality and foreign-policy concepts have attracted the attention of the whole world. Fraternal relations between our two countries have a 30-year record. The importance of the Soviet Union's unselfish assistance to Cuban revolution is difficult to overestimate".

"The Cuban people are confident", Argiles emphasized, "that the forthcoming visit will give a new impetus to the development of the unbreakable ties of friendship, brotherhood and all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba".

Soviet-Cuban Trade, Payments Protocol Signed

PM2903091689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Protocol Signed"]

[Text] Talks have ended in Moscow between government trade delegations of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba, and a protocol was signed on trade turnover and payments between the two countries for 1989.

Under this document, the volume of reciprocal deliveries of goods between the two countries will be some R9 billion in the current year.

The implementation of the protocol will help to further strengthen and develop Soviet-Cuban trade and economic cooperation.

The document was signed by K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and R. Cabrisas, Cuban minister of foreign trade.

J. Camacho Aguilera, Cuban ambassador to the USSR, was present at the signing.

Gorbachev Book Presented in Havana

LD2503065189 Moscow TASS in English 0646 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Text] Havana March 25 TASS—An official presentation of a book of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's collected speeches, put out here by the political literature publishing-house of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, was held in the Cuban-Soviet Friendship Association on Friday.

The book is entitled "A New Stage of Perestroyka".

Anolan Aguila, editor-in-chief of the publishing-house, pointed out in a speech at the ceremony that perestroyka in the Soviet Union is called upon to strengthen socialism. It does not presuppose a departure from socialist principles for the building of society or from the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The objective and meaning of perestroyka is revolutionary refinement of the socio-economic system. This is vividly illustrated by the documents included in this edition of the Soviet leader's speeches.

Soylo Marinello, chairman of the Cuban-Soviet Friendship Association, has said in an interview with a TASS correspondent that the very fact of publication in Cuba of a new edition of speeches by Mikhail Gorbachev illustrates the immense interest of Cuban society in the processes taking place in the Soviet Union.

It is of particular importance that the documents will be read by the Cubans on the eve of the Soviet leader's forthcoming visit here. This will undoubtedly help many citizens of the republic to become increasingly aware of the importance of the historic visit and of its results, Marinello said.

Ortega Says U.S. Contra Funding 'Blackmail'

LD2803132589 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega has described Washington's decision to allocate some 45 million dollars worth of "humanitarian aid" to the contras as new evidence of its intention to continue the policy of blackmail and threats against Nicaragua. Political observers believe he has good cause to think so.

The joint statement agreed by the presidents of five Central American states in El Salvador in mid-February offered a whole package of measures designed to create conditions for establishing long-awaited peace in the region. The Nicaraguan Government has also pledged unilaterally to continue democratisation in Nicaragua. In the meantime, an agreement was reached on demobilization, voluntary repatriation and deployment of armed contra formations, currently stationed in Honduras, in other countries.

But, what is the true state of affairs? The government and the opposition political parties are resuming negotiations in Managua to discuss the mechanism of elections scheduled for February 25, 1990. About 2,000 former Somoza men have been set free, bans on several radio stations have been lifted and ten opposition Catholic bishops have been allowed to return to Nicaragua. The Sandinista government is steadily fulfilling its commitments.

At the same time, the intention of the U.S. Administration to prolong the existence of the contras by continuing financial support and Secretary of State James Baker's statement that there are no limitations banning military aid to the contras, if the situation in Nicaragua does not change, seem to contrast sharply with the decisions of the El Salvador meetings of five Central American presidents.

Soviet diplomatic circles believe that a Central American settlement can be reached only through the balance of interests of all the parties involved in the conflict. Any attempt to put this principle under question may slow down the settlement process.

Political & Social

Regional Party Leaders Among Election Casualties
PM2903122189

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 March 1989 Second Edition carries on pages 1 and 2 a series of reports from PRAVDA correspondents on the preliminary results of the elections to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies from various parts of the country under the heading "In Favor of Restructuring!"

A report from Kiev notes that the following were elected: N. Priymachenko, first secretary of the Polesskiy Rayon Party Committee (Raykom) (Kiev Oblast); N. Tyupa, director of the Rzhishchev "Radiator" Plant; and B. Bondarenko, senior navigator at the Borispol Aircraft Enterprise. The following failed to secure the necessary majority: B. Kachura, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; Ya. Pogrebnyak, first secretary of Lvov Oblast Party Committee (Obkom); I. Lyakhov, first secretary of Voroshilovgrad Obkom; L. Palazhchenko, first secretary of Chernigov Obkom; and G. Bandrovskiy, first secretary of the Transcarpathian Obkom.

A Tbilisi dispatch records the following as elected: D. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee; B. Nikolskiy, second secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee; B. Adleyba, first secretary of the Abkhaz Obkom; G. Emiridze, first secretary of the Adzhar Obkom; A. Chekhoyev, first secretary of the South Osetian party obkom; I. Rodionov, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District; and O. Cherkeziya, chairman of the Georgian Council of Ministers.

A report from Petrozavodsk states that in the Sortavalskiy Territorial Okrug V. Stepanov, first secretary of the Karelian CPSU Obkom, was defeated by A. Yudov, an agronomist at the "Bolshevik" state farm (sovkhoz); and that N. Kirilenko, workshop chief at the Kondopoga Pulp and Paper Combine, beat V. Andrianov, chairman of the Kondopozhskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee (Rayispolkom).

A Yerevan report names the following successful candidates in Armenia: S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; S. Ambartsumyan, rector of Yerevan State University; N. Kolpakova, dairymaid at the Krasnoselskiy Sovkhoz; N. Muradyan, first secretary of the Spitakskiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom; and S. Usyan of the "Nairit" Science and Production Association management.

A report from Ufa says that R. Khabibullin, first secretary of the CPSU Obkom, was elected a USSR people's deputy, while A. Yurin, second secretary of the Ufa City Party Committee (Gorkom), failed to win the requisite number of votes.

A reporter in Khabarovsk writes that N. Danilyuk, chairman of the kray soviet executive committee, was elected.

In Tashkent, the following reportedly failed to win election as deputies: N. Yakubov, first secretary of Samarkand Gorkom; V. Chzhen, director of the Samarkand Refrigerator Plant; and Sh. Alimov, rector of Tashkent University.

The following are also cited in reports from across the country: A. Orekhov, chairman of Karymskiy Rayispolkom, was elected in Chita, defeating N. Malkov, first secretary of Chita Obkom. A. Sapegiya, mechanic at the Smolensk Locomotive Depot; V. Kovalev, milling machine operator at the Safonovo Plastics Plant; and A. Vlasenko, first secretary of Smolensk Obkom, were elected in Smolensk. Finally, in Tyumen, G. Bogomyakov, first secretary of the obkom, failed to win the requisite number of votes.

Further on Constituencies' Election Results

28 Mar IZVESTIYA Preliminary Data
LD2803144689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] We will tell you just the first preliminary data quoted today in the Moscow edition of IZVESTIYA. They show a good turnout by citizens on election day. In most regions 80-85 percent of voters went to the polls. Elections did not take place in only three constituencies of Armenia, which suffered from the earthquake.

In 68 territorial and national territorial constituencies where there were 3 or more candidates the voters were unable to determine their deputies at once, and so there will have to be a runoff.

Totally unexpected was another result: in 168 constituencies where 1 or 2 candidates were registered the candidates did not receive the necessary majority of votes. This means that it will be necessary to hold repeat elections again, and repeat in a term of 2 months the election campaign starting with the nomination of candidates.

Moscow Winners 'Proved Their Worth'
LD2903095589 Moscow TASS in English 0922 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 29 TASS—By TASS correspondents Vladimir Isachenkov and Valeriy Kiosa:

The Soviet capital will be represented on the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR by men who have proved their worth in this or that sphere of human activity or in the process of perestroyka.

Mikhail Bocharov, director of the local building materials combine, has won the race against 20-odd heads of other major Moscow enterprises, who ran for elections beside him. The electors liked his well-argumented programme, which concentrated mainly on the question of furthering the economic reform. Bocharov's professional competence is borne out by the excellent economic performance of the plant he heads. It was the first Soviet enterprise that was rented from the state collectively by its personnnel. It took them only ten months to turn this formerly unprofitable plant into a highly gainful enterprise.

More than 71 per cent of the electors have cast their votes for Valentin Dikul, who is trying to restore the somewhat waning sense of compassion. "I believe it is necessary to set up a special public health and social security commission under the country's supreme legislature", he said. Valentin Dikul knows what compassion means from his own experience. Working as a circus flying trapeze artist, he injured his spinal cord gravely and was doomed, it appeared, to remain bedridden for life. But he returned to normal life due to a treatment procedure he had thought up himself. Now he is one of the country's best jugglers. Moreover, he heads the USSR spinal cord treatment centre, which he has set up himself.

A sweeping victory was scored at the election by Telman Gdlyan, investigator of particularly grave offenses under the USSR general procurator's office. He polled 86.7 votes [as received] in a race against four other candidates. Telman Gdlyan headed the investigation of grave embezzlement and corruption cases in the Soviet central Asian republic of Uzbekistan.

Though approving on the whole the existing election's law and qualifying it as a "huge stride into the future", Telman Gdlyan believes it is necessary to amend it in such a way as to eliminate some vague formulations allowing local authorities to push through "their own" candidates in election districts. In the capacity of people's deputy, Telman Gdlyan intends to concentrate his attention on questions of perfecting the draft criminal codes of the USSR and of the union republics.

RSFSR's Vorotnikov Elected

LD2803223989 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Moscow March 28 TASS—By TASS correspondents

Preliminary data on the elections to the Soviet parliament, which were held last Sunday, are pouring in from various parts of the country. Some 80-85 per cent of the electorate took part in the voting in most regions. [passage omitted]

Vitaliy Vorotnikov, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, was elected a people's deputy from the Voronezh national-territorial constituency. He was elected by 84.6 per cent of voters. Deputies elected from Voronezh region include Gennadiy Kabasin, first secretary of the regional party committee; Vladimir Kirillov, non-party staff member of the polytechnical institute, who nominated himself to run for the Soviet parliament. There will be run-offs in two territorial constituencies where two candidates contested one seat in each constituency, and none of them won more than 50 percent of the vote. [passage omitted]

Results From Kiev, Other Cities

PM2803172189

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 March 1989 Morning Edition carries on page 1 under the headline "Assertion of Democracy," a roundup of correspondents' reports from Kiev, Kursk, Yerevan, Minsk, Dushanbe, and Voronezh on Sunday's elections of USSR people's deputies.

N. Baklanov reports from Kiev: "The elections of USSR people's deputies ended with an unexpected result in Kiev: K. Masik, first secretary of Kiev City Ukrainian Communist Party Committee running in National Territorial Electoral Okrug No 33, and V. Zgurskiy, chairman of Kiev City Soviet Executive Committee registered as candidate in Dneprovskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 465, failed to get the necessary number of votes to be elected deputies. Repeat elections now have to be held in those okrugs.

"Analyzing the reasons why these two leaders were defeated in the election struggle, it can be confidently said that one reason is that they were sole candidates in their okrugs. Many Kiev residents perceived this as a violation of democratic principles and demonstrated their attitude to 'elections without a choice' by crossing out the only name on the voting paper."

S. Bablumyan reports from Yerevan:

"'We will have the final results only toward the end of the day, and so we ask you to regard what we do have only as a preliminary result,' I was warned at the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium.

"So, 71.9 percent of voters participated in the voting in the republic as a whole. In Yerevan this indicator is appreciably lower—somewhere around 53 percent. This is a figure that makes you think, since it has come about under somewhat unusual circumstances. The point is that the elections in Yerevan were extended by 2 hours: They ended at 2200 hours instead of 2000 hours, as planned. This time change resulted from the fact that many Yerevan residents headed last Sunday for Leninakan, Spitak, Stepanavan, and other cities and rayons in the disaster zone. They went to attend wakes. But it cannot be said that the mass departure of Yerevan residents was unexpected, and so such a turn of events should have been foreseen.

"However, not only this circumstance predetermined the certain passiveness of voters in the republic's capital. At the very height of the election campaign people asked a question to which they never received a convincing answer. This is what they asked: Why did a number of the republic's leading workers, who had been nominated candidate deputies, not have any rivals? As a sign of protest many people refused to participate in the elections without a choice. This was what happened, for example, in the Sovetskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 734. More than half the voters also failed to show up at polling stations in the Zeytunskiy National Territorial Okrug No 394, although there there were five candidate deputies approaching the finishing line simultaneously. And in the Echmiadzinskiy Okrug No 416, even though the proper number of voters participated in the vote, nevertheless neither candidate gained the required number of votes. Repeat elections will be held there.

"The elected deputies include Vazgen I, Catholicos of all Armenians."

M. Shimanskiy reports from Minsk:

"Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; G. Tarazevich, chairman of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium; and M. Kovalev, chairman of the republic council of ministers, have been elected USSR people's deputies. Among the USSR people's deputies are representatives of very diverse social sections of Belorussia's population. They include L. Dyusov, turner and borer at Minsk Motor Plant; M. Abramovich, tractor driver on the 'Mechta' State Farm in Minsk Oblast's Borisovskiy Rayon; and K. Khlebtsov, machine milking operative at the 'Nosovichi' Livestock Breeding Center in Gomel Oblast's Dobrushskiy Rayon, who is well known in the republic."

"The following failed to get the necessary number of votes: A. Kamay, first secretary of Gomel Oblast Belorussian Communist Party Committee; V. Leonov, first secretary of Mogilev Oblast Belorussian Communist Party Committee; A. Kichkaylo, chairman of Mogilev Oblast Soviet Executive Committee; V. Galko, first secretary of Minsk City Belorussian Communist Party Committee; and Yu. Khusainov, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic State Agro-Industrial Committee."

Election Results in Baltic Regions Reported

Nationalist Groups 'Big Winners'

AU2803130089 Paris AFP in English 1212 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Riga, Soviet Union, March 28 (AFP)—Nationalist movements in the Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia were big winners in Sunday's Soviet elections, a success expected to strengthen their demands for greater autonomy from Moscow, political observers noted Tuesday.

Latvia Popular Front Secretary-General Sandra Kalniete, in an interview with AFP, evoked the possibility of Baltic representatives linking up in the new Congress of People's Deputies with intellectuals from Moscow and Leningrad to form a stronger grouping.

In Estonia the local popular front won 15 of the 36 seats. Two of the main nationalist leaders, Edgar Savisaar and Marju Lauristin, were elected together with reform-minded Communist Party candidates who had the front's backing—including party chief Vayno Valyas, Estonian President Arnold Ryuytel and Prime Minister Indrek Toome.

In Lithuania the Sajudis nationalist movement headed 31 of the 39 constituencies where it put up candidates. Many local Communist Party leaders, including state boss Vitautas Astrauskas, Prime Minister Vitautas Sakalauskas and Justice Minister Pranas Kuris, were defeated. But two party first secretaries considered "progressives" and backed by the Sajudis—Algirdas Brazauskas and Vladimir Berezov—were elected.

In Latvia, cabinet president Vilnis Bresis was beaten by a young journalist and television personality Edvin Inkens, backed by the autonomists. The local party first secretary Jan Vagris scraped home with only 51 per cent of the poll, thanks to the votes of sailors serving with the Soviet fleet in Riga.

The party's second secretary Vitaliy Sobolyev also had a hard time winning election, polling only 50.5 per cent. A former Afghanistan veteran, General Fyodor Kuzmine, collected 52 per cent in a constituency where he was the only candidate.

But Latvian independentist leader, Daynis Ivans, won by a "large majority" along with the president of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) Anatoliy Gorbunov, who had the front's backing.

The front said it was "very satisfied" with the outcome. But Mrs. Kalniete admitted that the chances of the Baltic republics being able to influence the people's congress remained slim.

Of the 2,250 deputies in the new chamber, only 200 will represent the Baltic republics, she said before raising the possibility of alliances with other groups in the new assembly. "I doubt that Boris Yeltsin—the Communist Party maverick elected in his Moscow constituency with a 89.44 per cent majority—would join one," she said, adding that he was not a democrat but a dictator more interested in himself than in the people.

Following Sunday's poll, the autonomist movements in the Baltic republics were expected to rely on their own local institutions to maintain their distance from Moscow.

The Supreme Soviet of Latvia is scheduled to decide in May whether the state should adopt Latvian as its official language. It will also decide whether to offer two amendments to its constitution—one to define Latvian citizenship and the other to modify electoral laws to provide for direct elections to the local assembly (parliament) next November.

Preliminary Results for Lithuania

LD2803224789 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] From different sources we have learned the preliminary results of yesterday's elections. People's deputies of the Soviet Union have been returned in 33 constituencies out of the 42 formed in Lithuania. In those constituencies one contender out of several managed to poll more than 50 percent of the ballots cast by the electors. In eight constituencies a successive ballot will be held within a fortnight [two weeks], with only two contenders who have polled the greatest number of votes standing for election. In one constituency a by-election will be held within the next 2 months, repeating all the stages of the election campaign, including nomination of candidates. This is because there were two contenders running for election in this constituency, but none of them polled more than half of the ballots, in other words the people voted against both the candidates.

The outcome of the election is a sweeping victory of the candidates backed by the Lithuanian reform movement Sajudis. This is how the poll was qualifieid by Virgilius Cepaitis, executive secretary of the Sajudis Sejmas, or council. Thirty-one Sajudis-backed candidates have already been returned and a successive ballot will be held to decide about eight more. Seven of those eight Sajudis-backed candidates have an advantage over their chief rivals in yesterday's poll, so they are likely to win during the forthcoming ballot.

Another two deputies returned yesterday are Lithuania's First Party Secretary Algirdas Brazauskas and Second Secretary Vladimiras Berezovas. Algiradas Brazauskas is reported to have polled three-fourths of the electors' votes. In those two constituencies Sajudis had recalled its candidates, backing up the new Lithuanian Communist Party leadership. Sajudis-backed candidates, however, have by preliminary data defeated the chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the prime minister.

Virgilius Cepaitas, executive secretary of the Sajudis Sejmas council, called the election the nation's referendum on the Sajudis issue, adding that Lithuania's delegation at the deputies' congress of the Soviet Union will be rather united. He pointed out that among Lithuania's 16 people's deputies elected by the centralized all-union public organizations, one is a member of the Sajudis Sejmas council, another a Sejmas member and several more deputies are Sajudis sympathizers.

Brazauskas on Elections in Lithuania

LD2803224889 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] In one of the election centers on 26 March our correspondent [name indistinct] met Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party. The correspondent started his interview with a claim that the processes of political differentiation and political maturity would continue in Lithuania. He also said that on 26 March the Lithuanian voters were electing 42 Soviet MP's, while this autumn 450 would be elected to the Congress of Lithuanian People's Deputies.

Our correspondent also asked Algirdas Brazauskas to say whether the republic would come to the autumn elections with a multiparty system. In response to the question, the leader of the Lithuanian Communist Party said that on the one hand it would be difficult to agree with such a forecast, yet on the other hand there are no arguments to deny it. Life has been changing so swiftly and, as the practice of our life has already shown, it is very difficult to foretell even the nearest events, let's say in a month's time, the more so in 6 or 12 months. There is no doubt that the elections to the Lithuanian parliament will be complex indeed.

The party leader also agreed that it would be the nation's will and 450 MP's would be the nation's envoys. Yet it is not clear whether the number 450 was acceptable or not, because this part of the election procedure and the parliament structure outlined in the Constitution were not final. Some voices were heard during the discussions of the constitutional draft, and the party leader also voted for the idea, to the effect that 100 or 120 MP's should be favored. Practically speaking the MP's should be semiprofessional politicians—or in other words MP's with high qualifications—and it would be up to them to create the law-governed state.

Estonians Show Trust in Leaders

LD2803154289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 28 Mar 89

[From the "News of Estonia" program]

[Text] Elections have been held under the new system for the first time and on a democratic basis for the first time. Our electors really did have to do some work. They were energetic participants in many election meetings, who actively discussed the election platforms of their candidates. And, believe me, this was not always easy. After all, there were many contenders in each constituency for a place in the Soviet parliament, and the ideas of the majority of the candidates were sensible and concerned the most sensitive issues of the life of the republic, including ecological issues, interethnic relations, and the new economic policy. The elections themselves were more organized and busy than ever before.

Even very aged people came to the polling stations themselves in order to express their will there. And what was it? It is evident from the fact that the electors showed immense trust in the republic's leaders, Vaino Valjas, Arnold Ryutel, and Indrek Toome. Candidates who are activists of the People's Front also gained the support of the people. Other public movements and political groups also put up their own candidates. The destiny of our republic depends on how everyone living in Estonia will manage to stand together in future. It seems to me that, despite differing aspirations, it is common sense and good will that will predominate at decisive moments. It is for us to go together into the future.

Yerevan, Groznyy Poll Day Incidents Cited

PM2903091489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Telephone interview with Militia Colonel A. Solodovnikov, leader of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs operations staff working group on the elections, by F. Ivanov on 27 March under the rubric "At the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Duty Unit": "No Serious Problems"]

[Text] On Monday, 27 March, we called Militia Colonel A. Solodovnikov, leader of the ministry operations staff working group on the elections.

"I can report," he said, "that on the whole the voting took place peaceably in all regions of the country. Our attention was focused on the polling stations, but there were no serious incidents there.

"Unfortunately there were isolated incidents. Thus, in Yerevan about 100 young people gathered on Lenin Prospect at about noon, carrying banners with nationalist slogans. Some of them raised Dashnak [Armenian nationalist] flags over the crowd. The demonstrators tried to reach the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet building in order to organize a sit-down strike there. Militia workers succeeded in stopping the unauthorized rally and the organizers were detained.

"There was also an attempt to organize an unauthorized rally in Groznyy. There, some 2,000 people gathered in the city center at noon. They were demanding the cleaning up of the ecological situation in the city and the republic. Some of them called for a boycott of the elections. Thanks to the efforts of militia workers, who from the outset explained to those assembling the unlawful nature of the rally, the crowd dispersed in a few hours. These were virtually the only incidents in the whole of yesterday."

Yeltsin on Election Campaign, Investigation

PM2903083689 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 24 Mar 89 p 13

[Interview with Boris Yeltsin, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Construction Affairs, by Ezio Mauro in Moscow; date not given]

[Excerpt] Moscow—[Passage omitted] [Mauro] Boris Nikolayevich, would you have believed a month ago that you would end this election campaign involved in a battle—hounded by the party, under investigation by the Central Committee, under attack by the Politburo, and obstructed and denigrated by the Moscow leaders?

[Yeltsin] No, I did not expect it. Perhaps that was naive of me, however. I have been under public attack for 2 and ½ years. I have seen these maneuvers advancing since the beginning of the year.

[Mauro] Why has your election campaign become a military campaign?

[Yeltsin] You should ask someone else that—someone who does not want me to become a deputy at any price, who rejects the idea of my entering the Supreme Soviet. The reason is now clear: They are afraid of Yeltsin. Perhaps I should not say it, but it is so.

[Mauro] What do you believe is the source of this political fear?

[Yeltsin] The fact that I am an awkward person; that I always say frankly what I believe; and, above all, that I am not afraid of expressing my opinions, even when they differ from those of the supreme leadership group. This is the nature of my fault and of their fear. Then there is my platform, with a direct struggle with the bureaucratic command apparatus that protects them. Actually they are right to be afraid, do you not think?

[Mauro] You say "them" but who are "they?" Do they have a first name, last name, and patronymic?

[Yeltsin] I have always said who my opponents are.

[Mauro] Yes, but now there is something that you must clarify: Is it only the Politburo's conservatives—including your eternal enemies Yegor Ligachev and Lev Zaykov—that are behind the campaign you mention, or have they been joined by new forces?

[Yeltsin] To be accurate, I believe that both groups lie behind these maneuvers.

[Mauro] Have these maneuvers really hindered your election campaign?

[Yeltsin] They have tried to obstruct me and denigrate me in every way, including dishonest methods. I can guarantee you that it has been a very coarse operation. As for the results, I am beginning to believe that they will ultimately achieve exactly the opposite of what they intended. However, this is only an impression: We will find out after the elections. For the present I will say what has happened. And many strange, ugly, and dangerous things have happened.

[Mauro] These include the Central Committee's surprise decision to conduct an inquiry into you. Can you at last explain what happened?

[Yeltsin] I believe that no Soviet citizen, no Communist, can explain it, not even me. I still think about it but I see no justification for setting up a Central Committee commission to investigate a single person. What can he have done? It is not clear: They say that he "apparently said" certain things, perhaps, though it is not clear where or when. To be frank, I do not recall anything like this happening even in the worst period of stagnation.

[Mauro] So do you not know why you are being investigated?

[Yeltsin] I know that when there were really big criminals in the Central Committee no commissions of inquiry were set up, but there is now one on Yeltsin and it is at work. And yet I never received a single ruble in kickbacks, whereas they took millions and millions. The commission would not find a kopek in my case if it tried. In fact, however, they are seeking words, because they are afraid of words.

[Mauro] Tell me the truth: Would you ever have expected to have an investigation against you led precisely by Vadim Medvedev, promoted by Gorbachev to Politburo ideology chief?

[Yeltsin] Look, as ideology chief, Medvedev does not seem to me the equal of his predecessor in that post, namely, Aleksandr Yakovlev. Months have gone by, but I still cannot understand the reasons for this change.

[Mauro] But why do you think it was that Medvedev—who does not belong to the Politburo's most conservative sector—was anxious to explain the rationale of the inquiry into Yeltsin at a press conference?

[Yeltsin] In my opinion, rather than explaining the inquiry, Medvedev's intention was to announce it, to make known that it exists. He also resorted to a falsification, because I have always maintained that the party—as stated by the Constitution—must act within the limits of the law and must therefore be subject to supervision by the country's supreme body, the Soviet, elected by the people. I was talking about judicial supervision: According to Medvedev, I was talking about political supervision, arguing that I wanted a party subordinate to the Soviet. They are two quite different things, and whoever confuses them is making a mistake—for no clear reason.

[Mauro] Is it true that in one of the four speeches made against you at the plenum your expulsion from the Central Committee was requested?

[Yeltsin] Yes, one comrade did say I should be expelled.

[Mauro] I would like to ask you whether you are now afraid of being expelled from the Central Committee. Could it happen?

[Yeltsin] I cannot tell you that I am not afraid. It is too serious a danger. However, I cannot see what I have done wrong. I can already sense the full injustice of this operation, though I cannot yet see what its aim could be. What can the commission be seeking? And will it find what it is seeking? But perhaps apart from the Central Committee commission, the country's Communists also ought to be asked to speak out. Too many grassroots organizations have expressed their dissent: I do not believe it is possible to pretend that nothing has happened and to ignore them.

[Mauro] Meanwhile, however, you cannot ignore the fact that the dissent is exploding in a spectacular fashion in the streets, with the protest demonstrations that chant your name, whistling Ligachev, and brandishing placards against the official authorities. What do you think?

[Yeltsin] These demonstrations prove that the people have roused themselves from their civic and political apathy. Some people within the bureaucratic apparatus still believe they can direct the people with a baton, like an orchestral conductor. But now they must resolve to take account of public opinion. And these demonstrations do express the people's opinion. Of course I am against unauthorized meetings. But on the other hand, what can we do? Are we to use machineguns when people bestir themselves? First, certain kinds of action should be rather better planned and the consequences of certain decisions should be pondered rather more.

[Mauro] Do you not believe that these mass demonstrations with their pro-Yeltsin banners are making your popularity a political problem for the leadership?

[Yeltsin] Perhaps, yes. But here too they should have thought of it earlier. With the Russians, the more pressure and repression there is, the more solidarity there is: Everyone should know this.

[Mauro] At the end of this confrontation are you not afraid that everything will be resolved by means of electoral fraud?

[Yeltsin] This is a very serious question. I will answer you thus: I cannot rule it out. This is why I am asking for the laws to be used to exercise public monitoring of the committees.

[Mauro] There is another very serious question: How do you reply to those who, following the electoral challenge, regard you as a possible future rival to Gorbachev?

[Yeltsin] That it is a provocation, and no more than that. I am not, and do not want to be, an alternative to Gorbachev. I hope this is clear.

[Mauro] Boris Nikolayevich, did you know that Foreign Ministry spokesman Gerasimov said yesterday that you are on the way to becoming the leader of the opposition?

[Yeltsin] Whoever thinks that is actually not thinking. I will never be against Gorbachev.

'Hasty' Conclusions About Election Pointed Out

LD2803194889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1755 GMT 28 Mar 89

[From the "International Diary: Events, Facts, Views" presented by Boris Andrianov"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] I have, of course by no means cited all opinions and assessments of the foreign press. I ask my colleague, Viktor Levin, to analyze them and comment upon them.

[Levin] You have already reproduced the main spirit, if one can put it that way, of the assessments of our elections. I would like to draw attention to individual details and to some, in my view, hasty and perhaps even rash conclusions.

I would like once again to express a reservation: that both we and our foreign colleagues have at our disposal imcomplete data, and that for this reason it is premature to sum up the results.

But certain trends have already materialized fairly clearly, and one can, of course, speak about them.

Both news agencies and other mass media abroad, especially in Western countries, are devoting a very great deal of attention to the results for the Moscow territorial constituency No 1, where Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin received the deputy mandate with an overwhelming majority. The agencies cite his biography and discuss his election platform. Here there is nothing to curtail or to add to what they have reported. However, with regard to the assessments abroad, in my view, intentionally or unintentionally—this is not at issue now—the accents are being shifted.

I agree with those journalists who see in the wide support of the Muscovites for Comrade Yeltsin a vote in favor of vigorous restructuring and in favor of the removal of all barriers and obstacles impeding it.

But when the journalists begin contrasting Yeltsin's success with the failure of a number of local party leaders to get elected, and a conclusion is drawn from this which is not hasty but simply unscrupulous—that allegedly the voters are voting against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—it is quite impossible to agree with such a way of formulating the question; not only because I do not want to agree, but because it also runs counter to the facts. It is known that Communists made up 86 percent of the total number of candidate people's deputies. If individual party leaders have not been elected, this must be a reflection of their personal businesslike qualities, and not at all of the party as a whole. [passage omitted] I am so bold as to assume that those representatives of the bureaucratic apparatus—either of the local soviet or the party apparatus—who did not receive mandates would very much like to represent their personal defeat as a blow against the party. They love to identify their person with the party and the country as a whole. But the voters have unequivocally voted for Communists who by their deeds confirmed that they are coming out for revolutionary restructuring and for the CPSU, which put the country on this course. And the fact that this is seen and understood by many people in the West can be assessed as a factor which is conducive to the growth of mutual understanding.

Editorial Reflects on Election's 'Many Firsts'

PM2803153089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Our People's Deputies"]

[Text] This election campaign contained many firsts, much that was unusual and new. The same was true of election day, 26 March—a day that lacked the former ostentation and was outwardly businesslike, calm, even ordinary, but filled as never before with excited anticipation and enormous inner tension. It was also true of the first news of election results: both those that were expected almost with certainty, but still with unprecedented impatience and interest, and those that were entirely unexpected and force us to begin thinking seriously about the profound changes in our society's life and the consciousness of millions of people.

How did the elections go? Who became deputy in your okrug and republic? Is information available on the results countrywide? These questions are today on the lips of acquaintances and strangers when they meet; people seek the answers to them in the newspapers and in radio and television reports. And this is perhaps the first and most important result of the whole of the present election campaign—the visible elimination of indifference and passivity, the awakening of interest in the country's political life in millions of people, the formation of our civic self-awareness.

It is hard as yet to compile from the brief radio reports and the first newspaper publications a general picture of how the elections ended. In a day or two the results of the voting in the okrugs and regions will be published in the local press. We will have to wait, for the time being, for the overall information on the body of deputies and the lists of names of those who will represent our interests on the country's highest organ of power—the Central Electoral Commission is allowed 10 days for this.

The first, preliminary reports indicate a good level of activeness among citizens on election day—in the majority of regions 80-85 percent of voters came to the polling stations. Without the usual "agitators" going round the apartments from early in the morning, without the practice of "voting" for the whole family and the neighbors, without the former pursuit of turnout percentages—this is a result that is convincing enough by any international standards. Elections failed to take place only in three okrugs in Armenia that were affected by the earthquake.

In 68 of the country's territorial and national territorial okrugs where there were 3 or more candidates, voters were unable to decide on their deputies immediately—here a runoff will have to be held. In the runoff, as the law stipulates, the ballot paper will include the names of only the two contenders who gained the most votes on 26 March. This result, incidentally, was expected by specialists and is only natural in okrugs with a large number of candidates.

Another result was unexpected by everyone, indeed sensational—in 168 okrugs where 1 of 2 candidates were registered, the contenders did not receive the necessary majority of votes. And that means it will be necessary to hold repeat elections—once again, but this time within 2 months, to repeat the entire election campaign, beginning with the nomination of candidates. More than half of these okrugs—88—are in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

In Moscow, for instance, the names of the USSR people's deputies are known in only 15 of the 26 territorial okrugs. In eight okrugs it will be necessary to resort to a runoff—it is scheduled for 9 April. And repeat elections will be held by voters in three okrugs—Kuntsevskiy, Lyublinskiy, and Proletarskiy.

Everyone can form his own opinion of what is, for us, an unusual election result. We still have to define our attitude toward the election struggle and formulate our own norms of political morality to suit our system. You cannot have a contest with no losers. And of course, no one should regard the preference given to another contender as a personal tragedy, a "failure." However, the defeated contender should think about the reasons and try to understand in what way his position, practical actions, or personal qualities failed to satisfy the voters, what mistakes he made in the election struggle. Those who nominated the candidate and supported him should reflect on the changes in our public life that require new methods of political and ideological work.

But it must be observed that this fact has its pleasing side too—the acquisition of civic dignity by a vast number of people who would not tolerate the attempts that were made once again to impose a single candidate on them, to deprive them of the right to choose, the right to be directly involved in the current political transformations. And this refusal of theirs is an undoubted victory for democracy.

The present election campaign and its results are remarkable precisely because they gave society many millions of politically active citizens who believed in the reality of their personal influence on the state's affairs, and not only on the formation of its highest organ of power, and because they confirmed in practice, not merely formally, the high prestige of the party of Communists, the party of restructuring. In electing, specifically ELECTING [vybirat, meaning both "elect" and "choose"] the future deputy, at all stages of the election campaign people measured his program against their own idea of state activity and formulated their own position, their own attitude toward glasnost, democracy, and restructuring. Our demands on the deputy have changed radically; now it is by no means a matter of indifference to us who becomes deputy—suffice it to recall how people fought for "their candidate" at meetings and rallies, for the popularity of his program, for his election. The majority of those who won seats are indeed our own, people's deputies.

The prestige of the people's elected representative has increased immeasurably, he now owes to them, the voters alone, his nomination, his lofty title of USSR people's deputy, and at the same time his responsibility to the people whose instructions and positions became one with his own platform and program of action. And this is another political gain for restructuring, an important step along the path of the revival of the full power of the soviets, which is the reason why we worked on the democratization of the electoral system and the new Law on Elections.

Academy of Sciences Electoral Commission Meets

LD2803141789 Moscow TASS in English 1341 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov:

Only eight out of 23 contenders for the 20 seats reserved for the USSR Academy of Sciences in the new Congress of People's Deputies received enough votes during the previous ballot at a general session of the academy on March 21.

A new electoral commission met at the Soviet Academy of Sciences to discuss another round of elections on Tuesday.

The thirteen-strong commission also elected Academician Andrey Gonchar as its chairman.

Scientists elected to the new Soviet legislature at the previous round of elections include Academicians Zhores Alferov, Andrey Gaponov-Grekhov, Oleg Nefedov, Yuriy Osipyan, Vladimir Platonov, Karl Rebane and corresponding members Nikolay Karlov and Sergey Alekseyev.

Ballots were cast by 900 members of the academy and more than 500 scientists representing different research institutions.

Election races among scientists started some two months ago when 121 people contested nomination to run in the elections. Eight were elected on March 21, some were elected from other public organisations or won constituency battles.

The remaining list of contenders includes 112 scientists with Academicians Roald Sagdeyev and Andrey Sakharov among them.

More than thirty others have also been nominated by scientists' collectives at the last session of the academy.

The official nomination of candidates will take place somewhere about April 6-7 at a session of the academy's Presidium, Yevgeniy Mukhin, election commission secretary, told TASS.

The nominations will then be discussed during meetings in the academy's branches and institutions.

The candidates will have two weeks to launch election campaigns.

Elections for the remaining 12 seats are expected to take place on April 19-20.

Party Commission on International Policy Meets

LD2803201789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar (TASS)—The CPSU Central Committee commission on matters of international policy met today. The two matters on the agenda were the international political aspects of the restructuring of the USSR's economic cooperation with foreign countries and the political analysis of the events of 1939.

During a discussion of problems concerning the Soviet Union's new experience with foreign economic ties, it was noted that the formation of a more effective mechanism for the USSR's participation in the international division of labor is proceeding in a contradictory manner. Direct production ties with foreign partners, entrepreneurism, and border trade are developing. About 300 joint enterprises have been set up on the USSR's territory, including 25 with socialist countries. Measures are being prepared that are intended to ensure mutual access to national wholesale trade for enterprises from the CEMA countries.

However, the new forms and methods of foreign economic activity are being introduced slowly, as members of the commission noted, and have not yet occupied a significant place in the country's economic life. On the whole, unfavourable tendencies in the USSR's foreign trade have still not been overcome.

During the discussion, special attention was focussed on difficulties with the provision of personnel for the new mechanisms of foreign economic activity, which is a key prerequisite for attaining qualitative changes, and also on the need to improve the normative bases and practice of cooperation with foreign partners.

The commission instructed a working group comprising specialists and scientists to sum up the ideas put forward in the course of the preparation for and during the discussion at the meeting.

Regarding the results of the examination of the political and military events of 1939 and the state of their coverage, the members of the commission spoke in favor of a more active scientific use of the relevant archive documents throwing light on the nature and sources of World War II and the position of Germany and certain other Western states. This will make it possible to overcome, in terms of the new political thinking, a certain onesidedness and stereotypes in interpreting the history of World War II and to concentrate on its main lesson: States with different social systems must rise over the differences that divide them and exclude war from the life of humankind through joint efforts.

The meeting was chaired by A.N. Yakovlev, Politburo member, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, took part in the commission's work.

Those who spoke at the meeting included: V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; V.A. Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security; G.A. Arbatov, director of United States and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee; G.I. Revenko, first secretary of the Kiev Oblast Ukrainian Communist Party Committee; V.I. Valjas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; P.K. Luchinskiy, second secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee; Ye.P. Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; A.-R.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; B.I. Gostev, USSR minister of finance; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; G.V. Novozhilov, designer general of the Moscow S.V. Ilyushin machine building works; Yu.P. Khomenko, deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; Ye.M. Primakov, director of the Institute for World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences; V.M. Falin, chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee; A.G. Kovalev, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs; V.N. Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; I.D. Laptev, 'IZVESTIYA' editor in chief; D.A. Volkogonov, head of the institute of military history of the USSR Defense Ministry; A.O. Chubaryan, director of the Institute of General History of the USSR Academy of Sciences; G.L. Smirnov, director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee; and F.N. Kovlev, head of the historical and diplomatic directorate of the USSR ministry of foreign affairs.

Estonian International Movement Congress Reviewed

PM2903082589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 p 1

[N. Ganyushov and E. Cherevashko article: "The Estonian Communist Party Is Supposed to Rally the Republic's Population. Reflections Following the International Movement Congress"—first two paragraphs are a boxed introduction; for further reportage on the 4-5 March Estonian International Movement Congress, see the 6 March issue of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 76]

[Text] **In its 10, 11, 12, and 14 March issues, SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA published material covering the constituent congress of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] International Movement. The editorial office promised readers that the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee's stance on this event would be expressed following the congress. There can be no doubt that this evaluation will be produced at the next or at one of the subsequent Central Committee plenums. It is well-known that the Central Committee is the organ which elaborates the party's collective opinion on various social events, phenomena, and so on. The elaboration of such a stance takes a certain amount of time.**

N. Ganyushov, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, and E. Cherevashko, chief of an Estonian Communist Party Central Committee department, took part in the International Movement congress. In today's issue of SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA they offer readers their thoughts and ideas about the congress and the atmosphere prevailing around it. At the same time, N. Ganyushov and E. Cherevashko provide answers to questions which were either raised in the speeches or were asked of them personally.

It is, we think, good that the newspaper published texts of the congress speeches. This offered an opportunity to study again the contents of reports and speeches, to thoroughly ponder everything before making an evaluation of a given statement, and not to do this right away, while still under the influence of the emotional atmosphere which predominated at the congress itself. At times we did feel, after all, as if we were attending a rally for hours and hours (the congress lasted 2 days, as you know) rather than the sittings of a constituent congress whose purpose was to elaborate a social movement's fundamental documents. The International Movement's program and statute were mentioned in speeches only in passing, while some did not even mention them at all, as if they were of hardly any interest. In other words, one got the impression that the reason for which the congress had been convened had been left in the background—a matter of secondary importance, as it were.

Judging by the leaders' preliminary statements, the purpose of the constituent congress was to shape organizationally this social movement expressing—something new to us—the interests of the republic's non-native, in other words Russian-speaking population. And this is precisely what one section of the population expected from the congress.

But the congress went far beyond this basic task and delved deep into the defense of fundamental concepts of socialism. Moreover, speakers frequently suggested that recent events in the republic supposedly represent "a deviation from socialism," "a blow against the interests of the working class," and so on. As we saw for ourselves, every other speaker at the congress claimed that he expressed the interests of workers, even though it seems to us that the interests of the working class are much more fully expressed not by the International Movement in its present form but by the United Council of Labor Collectives and the Estonian Council of Labor Collectives which operate on the basis of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

Nonetheless, the congress was held and the fundamental documents were adopted. But it is still unclear what their prevalent element is—the defense of a socialism which is totally unsuitable either politically or economically today, or concern for the rights of the Russian-speaking population in the prevailing situation.

Many speakers talked about their children's future—in the context of the adopted Law on the Language and of the Law on Citizenship due for adoption. In actual fact, this is no vain alarm. The sense of motherland has been shaken. After all, many Russians and other non-Estonians, themselves born in Estonia, are already bringing up children here. They know no other homeland but Estonia. It would be logical to assume that Russian-speaking young people elected as congress delegates would themselves have spoken in defense of their rights. But there were annoyingly few young people among the delegates (according to Mandates Commission data, only 5 percent of registered delegates were Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] members), and even those who were there did not speak.

During the breaks between sittings we conversed with a number of delegates, trying to find out why Russian young people were so inactive in such a complex situation. Here is the answer we got: "As soon as young people hear the **kind** of slogans and the **kind** of opinions—in no way to be described as constructive—promoted and expressed by former servicemen and war veterans (with all due respect to the latter), they immediately lose interest in our movement."

We thought that these views did contain a measure of truth, and a sizeable measure at that. Judging by numerous signs, the audience contained a relatively large number of reserve officers and NCO's and former front-line fighters, and they were the ones who frequently set the tone. And even the International Movement leadership elected at the congress contains quite a few such people, while relatively young and realistically minded people found themselves in what we perceived as a certain isolation.

The question is: Did the congress produce anything positive? Yes, it did go on record as expressing the interests of a certain proportion of the population and claimed to be a real political force. It is, however, difficult to say whether all this constitutes a positive phenomenon at this point in time. At the same time, it seems to us that the United Council of Labor Collectives and the International Movement itself could become a real force which, jointly with the Estonian Council of Labor Collectives and the Estonian People's Front, could rally the republic's entire population and channel the energy of the masses toward the solution of our joint tasks, both economic and political.

But this is something to be done in the future—the not-too-distant future, but the future nevertheless. How are people to be rallied now?

The real force which can and must solve this task is the Communist Party and its Central Committee. Yes, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee was criticized at the International Movement congress, and quite sharply at times. This criticism was fair occasionally (even though not always). For example, the party Central Committee has yet to honor its promise to organize a weekly supplement of SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, which could offer broader coverage of the republic's life, publish different opinions about various events, and carry materials on behalf of both the People's Front and the International Movement. Such a weekly supplement has yet to be created. Following the republic's switch to zonal time, it would probably be worthwhile thinking about extending Russian language programs on Estonian radio and television and so on.

At the same time, the following idea ran clearly through the participants' statements: It is on the Estonian Communist Party that the republic's public is now pinning its hopes. It is the Estonian Communist Party that can and must offer the population a way out of the prevailing difficult situation.

Yes, a division of opinions according to the two national communities can be observed within the party, just as in society as a whole. But the party cannot and must not allow any splits along nationality lines. We can and must elaborate a joint action program. This is now the target of efforts by the Central Committee and its Bureau.

We do have practical experience in elaborating joint action programs. Let us recall the united and sensible approach to compiling the platform of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee delegation to the 19th party conference. Some rayon and city party committees have already taken the initiative and embarked on work to compile joint action programs. All that has to be done is to pool and coordinate the efforts.

And now about some questions which were asked at the congress. Let us leave aside the obvious nonsense. Is it, for example, worth answering a question about the ship "Georg Ots," supposedly refused entry to Helsinki harbor because it flew the blue, black, and white flag? Or the following question: A city soviet executive committee chairman apparently organized an apartment for his son at the construction industry workers' expense, when in actual fact the 17-year-old teenager is the family's only son and still lives with his parents. And so on and so forth.

At the same time, the following two groups of questions merit serious attention. The first concerns the supposedly discriminatory nature of the Law on the Language adopted at the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session. We think that this opinion is based on lack of knowledge of the real state of affairs: Some people may possibly have studied the actual text of the law insufficiently, while others may not have been informed of the measures taken by the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers to implement this legislative act. The law does not envisage any encroachment on the Russian language, nor does it provide for any artificial reduction of the number of groups taught in Russian in higher education establishments or technical colleges. In conditions of republican economic accountability, the number of specialists fluent in various languages will be determined exclusively on the basis of the real need for them.

Yes, the time schedule for the adoption of Estonian in official correspondence by enterprises and organizations in a number of the republic's eastern rayons is unrealistic (let us remind readers that a period of 4 years has been scheduled), because the material and organizational backup is lacking. In our view, this question will also need additional work. At the same time, we cannot agree with statements contained in a number of questions to the effect that the republic ought nevertheless to establish two state languages. In other words, to give both Estonian and Russian the status of state language. We believe that such an approach would be contrary to the concept of a state language within a national republic in the USSR. Let us note in this context that similar acts, aimed at granting the status of state language to the national language on a republic's territory, are being drafted in the Ukraine, Moldavia, and Turkmenia. This process will obviously affect other republics as well.

And now to the second group of questions. Many participants are alarmed by the expected adoption of a Law on Citizenship of the Estonian SSR. Moreover, the act in question is, for some reason, again presented as discrimination against a proportion of the population. Excerpts were even cited from documents on citizenship supposedly already in existence, which provide for a 10-yearly census of residence and so on. Meanwhile, nothing specific was said at the congress to prove a realistic approach to this problem. Let us note that the very concept of citizenship regulates a citizen's legal and political relations with the state regardless of his nationality, color, religion, and so on. We think that this concern is rooted in uncertainty as to whether the law will actually be adopted only after a broad discussion. Let us remind readers in this context that, in his 7 March television address, Comrade V. Vyalyas clearly said that the republic's fundamental laws will be adopted in the future only on the basis of opinions expressed by Estonia's entire population.

Statements were repeatedly made at the congress to the effect that the Law on Citizenship ought to be examined only in the context of the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations, due to be held toward the middle of the year. This is reasonable, in our view, especially since it is planned to publish the plenum theses well in advance, so that they can play a positive role in determining criteria to be used as bases for documents on citizenship.

In conclusion we would like to say that party city and rayon committee officials, especially in the republic's capital, must now sharply step up their work among the population. At times one gets the impression that some communists in leadership positions are simply afraid of open dialogue and debate. Only decisive and frank actions can bring success now.

Resolution of Demands Published

PM2903104189 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 p 3

["Resolution of the First Congress of the International Movement of Estonian SSR Working People on the Social and Political Situation in the Republic"; "adopted unanimously at the First Congress of the International Movement on 5 March 1989" in Tallinn]

[Text] The International Movement of the Estonian SSR Working People, in analyzing the prevailing political situation in the republic, proceeds from the premise that the crux of the restructuring that is under way on the CPSU's initiative is the renewal of socialism on the basis of Leninist precepts, the clearing out of all extraneous elements and deformations alien to it, and the raising of Soviet society to a qualitatively new level. Paramount in all the working people's activity is the socialist development of Estonia as part of the USSR. In this connection the CPSU's authority and leading role in restructuring must continue to grow. Yet at the current stage of socialist society's development, antirestructuring and antisocialist forces are trying to undermine the moral and political unity of the republic's people, exacerbating interethnic relations, overtly idealizing the bourgeois republic, and countering the ideas of statewide restructuring with ideas of regional isolation and alienation from the USSR. Social organizations and movements outside the control of the party and the working class have deliberately espoused extremist tactics and are presenting demands in the form of ultimatums. One such movement is the People's Front of Estonia, which is moving further and further away from its program provisions and declarative statements professing support for restructuring. Aided and abetted by individual officials of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and local party organs, they have managed to take control of the mass media which have, for almost a year now, been trying to mold public opinion by instilling hostility to anything Soviet or socialist, and increasingly actively pitting the Estonian Communist Party against the CPSU, and the interests of the Russian-speaking population against the interests of the Estonian people. Openly nationalist attitudes are being kindled among the republic's population.

Under the constant pressure of nationalist groupings in organizations and movements, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the Estonian Supreme Soviet have been conducting a policy of concessions and appeasement, at the cost of discrimination against the interests of the working class and the working people of Estonia, and connivance, sometimes even complicity, with antirestructuring forces. Instead of effective organizational and ideological-education work to rally and consolidate the population, with a view to resolving highly complex socioeconomic tasks and defusing interethnic tensions, certain Estonian Communist Party Central Committee leaders have turned a blind eye to the worsening political situation in the republic. Such actions lead toward a revival of the bourgeois system and man's exploitation of man, which were abolished by Great October in 1917.

The declaration of the Estonian language as the sole state language represents an act of discrimination against 40 percent of the republic's population. The Law on Language adopted 18 January 1989 has curbed the rights and interests of that section of the population even further and created a confrontation in society based on language, social, and political issues.

The ceremonial replacement of the Estonian SSR state flag on the Big Hermann tower with the blue, black, and white flag is perceived by the people as a triumph for antirestructuring and antisocialist forces, as an offense against the positions of socialism and the working class in society.

The International Movement's attitude to the Estonian people's national sentiments, their language, their culture, their history, which is full of trials and tribulations, and their national emblems is one of understanding and respect. However, the hauling down of the Estonian SSR state flag is perceived by the working class and all the working people, irrespective of nationality, as a blasphemy, as an attack on Soviet power. It finally exhausted the patience of the working class—the leading, revolutionary class in our society. It has a legitimate right to demand an answer from the forces trying to encroach on its revolutionary socialist gains, and also from the people who are pandering to these forces. So where will the new test of the republic's working people—the adoption of a law on citizenship which violates the constitutional principle of the equality of all citizens—lead? The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet is also planning to adopt a law on an Estonian version of the IME ["Estonian self-management," also Estonian word for "miracle"] which is, essentially, another concession to the forces struggling for economic separatism but which does not, however, provide a cardinal solution to the task of republic economic accountability, and precludes the application of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise.

Essentially, by their policy of concessions, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, and local party and soviet organs have created the conditions of a diarchy—that of Soviet power of the working people and the power of the nationalist People's Front. However, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee is trying to present the prevailing situation as a proper process of restructuring in the republic.

The International Movement of Estonian SSR working people declares that this policy of pandering to antisocialist forces has nothing in common with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference. This policy leads to the further kindling of interethnic strife and confrontation and is not conducive to the solution of a single one of the tasks which the party and life itself have set society.

The First Congress of the International Movement of Estonian SSR working people resolves that:

1. The Coordination Council, city and rayon councils, organizations, and support groups—in short all members of the International Movement—must work toward the convocation of an Estonian Communist Party conference to discuss measures aimed at normalizing the political, social, economic, and interethnic situation in the republic. They must seek the participation in this conference of Communist members of the International Movement and of the United Council of Labor Collectives [OSTK] and members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

2. The Coordination Council and all International Movement councils, organizations, and support groups must regard it as one of their main tasks:
—to seek the suspension of laws which discredit any section or group of the republic population, or proclaim the priority of one section of the population over another, or curb the constitutional rights of citizens, and to forestall the adoption of any further laws of this kind;
—and to seek to forestall the planned adoption of the law on citizenship, which will bring in a degrading and essentially discriminatory system of priorities and advantages for one section of the population at the expense of another, based on different passports.

3. The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet is to be asked to disband all working groups on interethnic relations, the preparation of the draft law on Estonian SSR citizenship, the review of Estonian SSR emblems, and the review of the Estonian SSR Constitution, and to set up these groups with a new membership based on the proportional representation of all the main national groups within the Estonian SSR population and the inclusion of representatives of the International Movement and the OSTK. Decisions within these commissions are to be adopted by a two-thirds majority by secret ballot.

4. The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet is to be asked to suspend implementation of the Law on Language until a decision is taken by the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum on improving interethnic relations, and subsequently to have it reviewed by a commission with a different membership. The adoption of any law which curbs citizens' rights or is at variance with the Declaration on Human Rights or the USSR and Estonian SSR constitutions is to be regarded as impermissible.

5. Backing is to be given to the demands of Tallinn city labor collectives and party organizations that the Estonian SSR state flag be hoisted on the Big Hermann tower. During the review of the symbolism of the Estonian SSR state flag, it is necessary to ensure that red predominates as the color of the working people's unity. There must also be a hammer and sickle and a red star as emblems of the alliance of the working class and the peasants and of Soviet power.

6. The CPSU Central Committee and the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee are to be asked to submit a substantiated, scientific assessment of the events of 1940 and of the postwar socialist development of the republic. We are hoping for an objective depiction of the contradictions of that time, of the crimes and deformations of Stalinism, and of the impeding phenomena of voluntarism and stagnation. At the same time we hope that honest party and soviet activists and veterans of the Great Patriotic War and the partisan movement will be upheld, and the considerable successes achieved in all spheres of our life during the years of Soviet power noted.

7. During the war and the postwar years a considerable number of Estonian Communist Party members, champions of Soviet power, and totally innocent people perished at the hands of profascist bandits and nationalists (the "forest brethren"), their houses were burnt down, and their property was plundered. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet are to be asked to adopt a law on compensation for damage inflicted by the butchers of the Estonian people—the "forest brethren." It is to be proposed that a monument be erected to those who died during the evacuation of Tallinn in 1941. It is to be proposed that a monument be erected to the internationalist activists who died in the struggle for the happiness

of all the working people, social and national justice, the freedom of the Estonian people, and socialism. Collection of funds is to be organized for the construction of these monuments.

8. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee is to be asked to give a party assessment in the press, on radio, and on television of the public statements by Estonian People's Front leaders, who kindle interethnic strife and confrontation, degrade the honor and civic dignity of the non-Estonian section of the population, express antisocialist, nationalist views, and call for separatism up to and including a break with the USSR. We regard the activities of E. Savisaar of the People's Front as hostile to socialism, restructuring, and proletarian internationalism, and demand that he be expelled from the CPSU.

9. The International Movement Coordination Council and city and rayon councils must vigorously seek access to republic and USSR mass media. Groups of correspondents are to be set up in all International Movement councils who are to constantly inform the press on all topical isues of the sociopolitical life and interethnic relations in the republic and the activities of the International Movement. Party and soviet organs are to be asked to examine the question of allocating a certain amount of space in the press organs to the International Movement. For the purpose of achieving a real pluralism of opinions, we call on party and soviet organs to grant the International Movement press organ the same number of copies and volume of printed information as is available to the comparable publications of the People's Front press organ.

10. Backing is to be given to the demands of labor collectives that the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers' "Lokhusalu" government so-called "treatment" complex be placed at the disposal of the Estonian OSTK and the STK [Council of Labor Collectives] for the establishment of an interethnic leisure center for working people, employees, Great Patriotic War veterans, and internationalist servicemen.

11. We call on the republic party and soviet organs to elaborate a government program for rendering material and social assistance to those who took part in dealing with the aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station. We propose that this program be submitted for discussion by the people and subsequent adoption by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet for immediate implementation.

12. We regard it as the main task of International Movement members to ensure united action in the process of preparing for and holding the elections for USSR people's deputies and the elections for Estonian SSR people's deputies and local soviet deputies, and secure the selection, from among the most worthy representatives of the working class, peasantry, and labor and creative intelligentsia, irrespective of nationality, of people capable of upholding the interests of the working people and advancing the cause of restructuring.

13. All International Movement participants must support the initiative of the M.I. Kalinin plant labor collective and take part in the 14 March 1989 protest rally. We call on all working people, labor collectives, and party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations to come out in defense of the positions of socialism, the gains of Great October, and citizens' constitutional rights and equality, and against anticommunism and nationalism on that day. We propose convening a meeting of the party aktiv of enterprises which are members of or support the OSTK.

14. The Coordination Council must maintain contacts with labor collectives of enterprises in Moscow, Leningrad, and cities in other republics, and with International Movements in other republics, keep them briefed on the political situation in the Estonian SSR, and coordinate its actions with them. Steps must be taken to convene the First Constituent Congress of the All-Union International Movement of the Working People of USSR Peoples not later than May 1989.

15. The International Movement Congress backs the demands of the party meetings and labor collectives of the M.I. Kalinin and "Dvigatel" plants and other enterprises that party and soviet leaders discredited for implementing a policy of concessions to and connivance with antisocialist and antirestructuring forces be dismissed from their posts. Should the discrimination against the Russian-speaking population in the Estonian SSR continue, the International Movement reserves the right to back the Northeast Estonia idea of setting up an autonomous republic within the Estonian SSR on the basis of the right to self-determination.

16. The Congress of the International Movement of Estonian SSR Working People calls on the USSR Prosecutor General and the Estonian SSR Prosecutor to objectively assess the compatibility of the Estonian People's Front's program provisions and the practical activities of its leaders with the stipulations of the USSR and Estonian SSR Constitutions.

17. We delegates to the first constituent congress of the International Movement of Estonian SSR Working people, representing all nationalities living in the republic, hope that the Estonian people will understand us and our just cause, and will support our efforts in the struggle to deepen restructuring and defend socialism in the name of working people's interests and for the sake of the prosperity of multinational Soviet Estonia.

Appeal To Protest 'Counterrevolution'

PM2803110389 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 p 3

["Appeal From Delegates of the First Congress of the International Movement of the Working People of the Estonian SSR to the Working People of the USSR, Communists and Nonparty People, Party and Soviet Organs, War and Armed Forces Veterans, Internationalist Servicemen, and Servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces"; adopted by First Estonian SSR International Movement Congress; date of adoption not specified]

[Text] Comrades! The Estonian SSR International Movement calls on Communists, workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia to raise their voice in protest against the offensive by creeping counterrevolution against socialism's positions in Estonia and the country's Baltic region. Under pressure from the leaders of the People's Front, the Estonian Supreme Soviet is adopting decisions which run counter to the ideology and interests of the working class, and is replacing the symbols of revolution, socialism, and communism with symbols of counterrevolution and the bourgeoisie: On 24 February the state flag of socialist Estonia on the Big Hermann tower was replaced by the national blue, black, and white flag.

It is planned to change the coat of arms and the anthem, and preparations are under way for a discriminatory Law on Citizenship and the review and adoption of a new Estonian SSR Constitution from which the principles of socialism will have been excised. The People's Front and the mass media are debating questions of the denationalization of land, plants, factories, and banks, the creation of an Estonian currency, closure of enterprises, unemployment, and the remigration from the republic of the Russian-speaking population—questions which are enshrined in the IME [Estonian self-management] program.

The question of the sovereignty of the Estonian Communist Party, its separation from the CPSU, and the adoption of the Estonian Communist Party Statutes and Program opposed to the fundamental party documents which were adopted at the 26th CPSU Congress is also being discussed. At the next stage it is planned to establish a national militia and a national army. The IME program plans to carry out economic and social measures in the republic at the expense of a sharp reduction in the prosperity of the working class and all the working people. Therefore people of various nationalities living, creating, and working in Soviet Estonia feel a moral, political, and legal lack of protection of their human rights, honor, and dignity, and uncertainty as to their future. Increasingly, they feel concern for the fate of restructuring in Estonia, their own fate, and the fate of their children.

We, members of the International Movement, workers, the labor intelligentsia, working people of all nationalities living in the Estonian SSR, war and Armed Forces veterans, and internationalist servicemen, have faith in the proletarian solidarity and international cohesion of the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia of all the USSR's peoples in the struggle for restructuring, renewal of socialism, and strengthening of its positions in the USSR; we believe in your farsightedness, and we call on you to back the just cause of the working class and the working people of the Estonian SSR.

We appeal to all who cherish the gains of October, all who treasure the bonds of fraternity between the peoples of the USSR, to take part in a protest action at the city hall at 1500 hours on 14 March 1989.

We say: Nationalism will not triumph!
We are ready to defend socialism to the end!
Proletarians of all countries, unite!
Adopted by the First Congress of the Estonian SSR International Movement.

Paper Prints Speech Excerpt After Protest

PM2903113589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 p 3

[Feature comprising open letter to the CPSU Central Committee, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, and the SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA Editorial Office; extracts from A.K. Yakushev speech at International Movement Congress; and Editorial Office postscript]

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee
The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee
The SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA Editorial Office

At its 10 March session, the action committee for the creation of a republican council of war veterans, USSR Armed Forces veterans, and internationalist soldiers discussed the question of SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA's refusal to publish the concluding part of a speech delivered at the congress of the International Movement of Working People in the Estonian SSR by committee member A.K. Yakushev because "the speaker's subsequent statements were apparently insulting." Having heard again the text of Comrade Yakushev's speech, the action committee believes that it offers a principled, objective, and politically correct appraisal of events which occurred in the republic 23 and 24 February this year and which resulted in a crisis of confidence in the leadership of the Estonian Communist Party and the Estonian SSR among the working-class Russian-speaking population that threatened to spill over the region's boundaries and inflict political and material damage to the cause of socialist restructuring.

We perceive the newspaper's refusal to inform readers of our appraisal of the political situation in the republic as an attempt to conceal from the people the full extent of the threat to the cause of socialist renewal in Estonia, iwhich has developed through the fault of many leaders of the republic and the right wing of the People's Front of Estonia.

In view of the aforesaid, the action committee protests against the newspaper editorial office's biased appraisal of the speech by a committee member at the congress of the International Movement of Working People in the Estonian SSR and demands that this speech be published in full.

On instructions from the action committee members:

[Signed] Major General, Retired, N. Aksinin; Colonel, Retired, N. Solovey; Colonel, Retired, A. Yakushev; Lieutenant Colonel, Retired, Yu. Matveyev

From Comrade Yakushev's Speech

The growing political and interethnic tension culminated in events on 23 and 24 February associated with the hauling down of the Estonian SSR state flag and the political orientation of speeches by some orators at a rally when the national flag was raised. It is well known that on 23 February this year, under cover of darkness and to all intents and purposes in secrecy from the working class and war veterans, while the country and the city's and republic's public festively celebrated the jubilee anniversary of the Soviet Army which liberated the world from fascism, a group of individuals headed by a member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau also ceremonially—so the newspapers wrote—but in a thief-like fashion lowered the red flag from the Long Hermann Tower and put it away in a museum.

We believe that nothing but national arrogance and ambition, political shortsightedness, and lack of party principle could have prompted leaders of the Estonian Communist Party to organize such an immoral act, which proved the last straw as regards the patience of the working class, war veterans, and all honest people in the city and led to confrontation and a crisis of confidence in these leaders—something which we have striven so long and so patiently to avoid in Soviet Estonia. It seems to us that even profoundly religious people tell us: This is sacrilege; it means setting aside the memory of fighters who gave their lives in revolutionary struggle for socialist Estonia, on the battlefields against fascism (sic—Editorial Office note).

The Estonian Communist Party and Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium address to all inhabitants of Estonia in connection with the forthcoming celebration of Estonia's Independence Day on 24 February pointed out that Estonia's progress became possible through cooperation among all national and social groups and democratic movements. But people must be detached from today's realities and must totally lack all understanding of the situation in order to proclaim correct slogans and yet simultaneously organize the ignominious action of lowering the symbol of Soviet power and of the creation of the republic's government. It ought to be noted, incidentally, that fascist accomplices and participants in political gangsterism in Estonia who have escaped abroad have repeatedly announced that they would return to Tallinn only when the blue-black-white flag flew again above Toompea. This means that the hoisting of the national flag instead of the red flag can be understood as a signal of "welcome" at government level.

These are the strange results of an unprincipled policy. The address goes on to say: "Confidence among Estonians and free development to ensure confidence among all inhabitants of Estonia." History proves that national ambition and conceit among many of Estonia's leaders have repeatedly brought the Estonian people to the brink of national catastrophe. Today the republic has sufficient political forces which are mature and capable of preventing the recurrence of anything like this. The socialist development of the Estonian and all other peoples in Estonia can and will be ensured only beneath the slogan "Strong center—strong republics." There is no alternative. There is no point in cherishing illusions.

And one last point. In our view, the main cause of the political crisis in the republic is the fact that many party organizations and organs of authority and management happen to be headed by individuals whose personalities developed during the stagnation period. It is the lack of proper political and party principle, firm internationalist beliefs, experience, and knowledge; the lack of skill to act in complex conditions and the inability to make independent and politically valid decisions; and the prevalence of functionaries so divorced from the working class and the vanguard strata of the people that they have lost their leading role in restructuring and voluntarily handed that role to the right wing of the People's Front. The republic is inexorably sliding into a nationalist dead end to the accompaniment of a choir fluting revolution, of idle talk about consolidation, of self-praise and self-adulation. Alarm signals about the danger, sincere concern, and comradely advice were and still are haughtily rejected out of hand. Instead of eliminating deformities in socialism, a feckless progress of destruction dominates in the republic and is being recklessly supported and guided. Socialist gains in Estonia and Estonia's future are in jeopardy.

All our political decisions and practical actions must be pooled and aimed at averting this threat.

The army veterans' action committee fully approves the appraisal of the situation in Estonia contained in the address by the strike committee under the "Elektrotekhnika" Science and Production Association party committee and the demand by that enterprise's workers. On 8 March our committee's leaders were invited to the plant's strike committee, where an unambiguous view of the political situation in the republic emerged following an exchange of opinions, and a joint delegation was composed which briefed the CPSU Central Committee 2 March on the complexity of the situation and the demands by Estonia's working class. The action committee yesterday gave approval to the actions in the party Central Committee by our leaders belonging to the strike committee at the M.I. Kalinin Plant. We believe that the political means to combat creeping counterrevolution have not yet been exhausted. We need high standards of organization, cohesion, firmness, and resolve in political actions. We need to keep calm and not yield to provocations by extremists of all hues. In our view, it is necessary to prepare thoroughly and hold a rally of the working class, of war and Armed Forces veterans, of all genuine socialist forces in the republic to elaborate politically considered demands stemming from the crisis situation and founded on the resolutions of enterprise party organizations backing the appeal by the "Elektrotekhnika" Science and Production Association party committee organizational committee.

FROM THE EDITORIAL OFFICE: The authors who have signed the above address to the CPSU Central Committee, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, and the SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA Editorial Office perceive a principled, objective, and politically correct appraisal of events in expressions like "NATIONAL ARROGANCE AND AMBITION, POLITICAL SHORTSIGHTEDNESS, AND LACK OF PARTY PRINCIPLE... IN LEADERS OF THE ESTONIAN COMMUNIST PARTY"; "A SIGNAL OF 'WELCOME' AT GOVERNMENT LEVEL"—FOR "FASCIST ACCOMPLICES PARTICIPANTS IN POLITICAL GANGSTERISM"; "THE REPUBLIC IS INEXORABLY SLIDING INTO A NATIONALIST DEAD END TO THE ACCOMPANIMENT OF A CHOIR FLUTING REVOLUTION, OF IDLE TALK ABOUT CONSOLIDATION, OF SELF-PRAISE AND SELF-ADULATION." And if Maj Gen, Retired, N. Aksinin; Col, Retired, N. Solovey; Col, Retired, A. Yakushev; and Lt Col, Retired, Yu. Matveyev see here nothing insulting to leaders of the Estonian Communist Party and the republic's entire Estonian population, then the editorial office really made a mistake by not publishing immediately the full speech by A. Yakushev. Today we correct our mistake—in order to rule out any future accusations of an "attempt to conceal from the people the full extent of the threat to the cause of socialist renewal in Estonia."

Draft Estonian Citizenship Law Discussed

LD2803112589 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Summary] The working group on Estonian citizenship met yesterday. It was decided that they would meet again in a week for alterations to the draft. Tonu Laak, member of the working group, says that it is envisaged that length of residence will be strictly adhered to when conferring citizenship, with the present draft stipulating 10 years as a minimum duration for qualifying.

[Begin Laak recording] "We would like to exclude practically all those categories of people who feel no link with political life, such as the military who are on active service in the Estonian SSR. Once the law on citizenship has been adopted, I do not envisage the possibility—and that has not been envisaged in the draft law—that they could obtain Estonian SSR citizenship. But the law on citizenship in its turn is associated with election rights. With respect to the next elections for the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, I think that adopting the law on citizenship prior to the elections is essential because it defines considerably more narrowly the circle of citizens who can participate in the elections, both as voters and as candidates." [end recording]

Estonian Aid for Chernobyl Victims Urged

PM2803121389 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 p 3

["Appeal to All Inhabitants of Estonia" by Estonian SSR International Movement Coordination Council; date not given]

[Text] An Estonian Republic Chernobyl Committee was set up on 6 January 1989. Its membership is made up of people who were called upon to eliminate the consequences of the accident at Chernobyl nuclear power station in the very first days after the accident. They carried out their duty selflessly, only to be forgotten now. Neither the Estonian Ministry of Health, military commissariats, nor social organizations want to know them.

This is no time to look for culprits; what is needed is urgent help for those who can still be helped. Their families must not be forgotten either.

On 5 March 1989 P. Grimm, representative of the Chernobyl Committee, called from the rostrum of the First Congress of the Estonian SSR International Movement for attention to those who suffered as a result of helping to eliminate the consequences of the accident. P. Grimm's speech met with unanimous understanding and sympathy from the delegates. A decision to support the republic Chernobyl Committee with specific actions was incorporated in the congress resolution.

What can and must we do?

We appeal to the Estonian Ministry of Health and all medical personnel to do everything in their power to help every sick person who has suffered as a result of helping to eliminate the consequences of the accident.

We believe that the Republic Trade Union Council can and must provide free places in sanatoria and rest homes for all those whom the Chernobyl Committee names on the basis of a comprehensive medical examination.

We hope that the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers will find the necessary funds to acquire the necessary drugs and equipment to screen the people who have suffered as a result of helping to eliminate the consequences of the accident.

We appeal to the United Council of Labor Collectives and the Union of Labor Collectives to render material assistance to the Chernobyl Committee and to take part in the creation of a republican Chernobyl committee fund.

We hope that the republic's creative intelligentsia will show understanding of the position of those who have suffered and are now reduced to the role of suppliants, and will help them with concrete actions.

We appeal to all citizens of Estonia to pool their efforts in the humane and urgent cause of rendering assistance to those who have suffered as a result of helping to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station.

[Signed] Estonian SSR International Movement Coordination Council

Paper Stresses Russians, Estonians 'One Family'

PM2703093589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 12 Mar 89 p 1

[Editorial: "We Are All One Family"]

[Text] Recent events in our republic and in the country show how many painfully familiar dogmas and misconceptions have sunk into oblivion. The criteria which existed previously have become exhausted and no longer work. The habit of obedience is disappearing, people's own dignity is growing, and it is logical that conflicts here are inevitable; they are a normal phenomenon. But we are not versed in the art of resolving them. Out of habit we reach for the big stick and are quite unable to part with the intolerance and suspicion which in the past brought so much grief to all peoples of our country.

Our life is rich in novelty and surprises. The names of peasants and writers, military leaders and engineers repressed for no crime are returning from nonexistence. The names of time servers are disappearing from squares and streets, from the titles of city and oblast educational establishments. Who would have thought just 3-4 years ago that the millenium of Russia's conversion to Christianity would be celebrated so widely and solemnly in our country. Rather, with a view to "keeping out of harm's way," we could have expected another attack on churchmen and on believers in accordance with the classic canons of cheerless atheistic propaganda. But today we no longer fear unusual speeches, in a Soviet context, from our academicians and writers asserting that the church and religion are the custodians of the people's conscience and honor and the repository of their age-old traditions.

The hoisting of the national tricolor flag on Hermann Tower in Tallinn was a step toward restoring historical justice and dignity to the Estonian people. And the majority of Estonian inhabitants treated this act with understanding and sincerely shared the joy of Estonians. But there are also other opinions. And it is arrogant to disregard them, and to reject them would be a most flagrant blow to glasnost and democratization.

Speaking on television 7 March this year, V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, said with the utmost clarity: The replacement of the flag in no way means any shift in the policy of the republic's leadership or evil intentions with regard to anyone. For the Estonians the tricolor flag is not the symbol of the bourgeois state, since it appeared long before they obtained statehood. The Estonian proletariat marched to the first Russian revolution of 1905 with this flag. Full respect remains to this day for the republic's state flag which flutters over all Soviet institutions, including the building of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers.

In Tallinn and other cities in the republic meetings of workers collectives are now taking place which are stating the solidarity of the nonindigenous population. This desire is entirely understandable, because the majority of Estonia's nonindigenous inhabitants do not separate their fate from the fate of the republic. The high emotional pitch of these meetings and individual erroneous interpretations of events are caused by inadequate information or by anxieties born of rumors. According to the rumors, Russian schools and kindergartens are being closed. According to the rumors, Russian groups in higher educational institutions are being reduced. And there are many other rumors circulating in the republic's cities and villages.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee has confirmed that these and similar rumors are totally unfounded and that the Estonian Communist Party and the republic's leadership stand firmly on positions of restructuring. Here the opinions of the republic's entire population are considered. We should like to highlight from the context of the television statement of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary the following words: "The guarantees which the law on language provides for the Estonian language do not lessen the importance of the Russian language and do not and cannot threaten it. One is not being done at the expense of the other."

We are only just becoming accustomed to the idea that democracy is a two-way street. It is this truth which forces us to make public a letter which has come from the "Elektrotekhnika" Association. Our newspaper has already reported that a strike committee has been created at this enterprise. Team leaders L. Spiridonova and S. Kasemaa, who are well-known in the republic, have written to SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA and their attitude toward the events taking place at the enterprise is sharply negative.

"We have been working at the 'Elektrotekhnika' science and production association for about 2 decades, but we cannot understand what has been happening at our plant recently. On 7 March the teams of the 10th shop were called to a meeting. They discussed holding a meeting 14 March. A representative of the strike committee tried to find an Estonian worker to address the meeting. They called on us to vote for their candidates. They kindled interethnic enmity.... We wanted to explain our position but nothing came of it as the situation was extremely nervy. That is why we are forced to address through the newspaper all inhabitants of Estonia who intend to go to the meeting. We will retain our prudence! All problems can be resolved through dialogue, without insults. Don't let yourselves be drawn into provocative actions. We do not know who belongs to the strike committee. But we know full well that far from the entire 'Elektrotekhnika' collective supports the demands which this committee puts forward because each person has his own attitude toward life and his own political views."

One more detail, also from the "Elektrotekhnika" Science and Production Association. On 6 March this year the collective of that association's Purman shop adopted a decision condemning the call from the head enterprise to work stoppages and strikes. In the opinion of the workers and engineers from Purman, these actions harm restructuring and increase tension in interethnic relations.

Time and people's own experience of the past few months of restructuring were needed to understand clearly that it is hardest of all to change social relations and people's way of thinking and morals. Oh, how hard it is to break away from the habitual behavioral stereotypes. At meetings in the labor collectives and at the International Movement congress a great deal was said in defense of socialism. But to think that socialism is protected from the adverse consequences of objective social contradictions—only the most shameless optimist could think that. These adverse consequences also exist in the field that is interethnic relations.

Only recently the nationalities question was as it were an intimate question for our society which it was not customary to mention aloud. Moreover, it was considered "resolved" by the very proclamation of national self determination and equal rights. Alas, life has rejected that dogma and you have to suffer from chronic color blindness not to see it.

The party sees these negative processes and is striving to do a lot to eliminate them. Efforts are being made to create a rule-of-law state, a CPSU Central Committee Plenum on interethnic problems is being prepared, and so forth. But in our republic too there are people who, like Dostoyevskiy's hero, want "all their capital" immediately. Yet the process of democratization, particularly in the sphere of interethnic relations, where everything grows "a kopek at a time," requires calm, restraint, and time.

We think that the fundamental question is: How do we want to see our republic, our country, and ultimately socialism? PRAVDA recently published a talk with Comrade Stipe Suvar, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium. In the talk he said in particular: "Today we are moving increasingly far away from the barracks and distributive rules of indigent socialism and we are moving toward a socialism which places foremost man and his needs, freedoms, his right to an opinion and to organization and to individuality, but an individuality which will not be a selfish, self-loving essence but a responsible subject. Many of our own 'Yugoslav' and 'general' dogmas and misconceptions about socialism and its true nature and motive forces have sunk into oblivion. This causes confusion in people's minds and in the daily pulse of social life. It is clear that social stability can no longer be achieved by orders and all-embracing bureaucratic control but only by the powerful development of socialist democracy, the action of the rule-of-law state, the strict observance of laws, the eradication of any privileges through free criticism accompanied by responsibility on the part of each individual and each collective, and by people's interest in working as well and as much as possible in order to live as well and as happily as possible...."

Surely you, esteemed reader, together with us, want to see an atmosphere in society in which man and his needs, freedoms, and rights are placed foremost? Surely the malignant tumors on the body of socialist society do not gladden our eyes and surely we want to remove them? Surely we are not nostalgic for the orders and all-embracing bureaucratic control? Surely we want to live better and more happily?

From the statement by the leader of the Yugoslav Communists I should like to draw the idea of an individuality which will not be a selfish, self-loving essence, but a responsible subject. The right of free criticism will be accompanied by the responsibility of each person and each collective.

On Tuesday 14 March a meeting is planned in Tallinn. We would very much like to believe that common sense and constructive approaches will prevail at it, that critical words will be accompanied by its participants' responsibility and interest in working as well and as much as possible in order to live as well and as happily as possible.

Its authors end the letter from the "Elektrotekhnika" science and production association team leaders as follows: "We call on you on 26 March to give your votes to those candidate deputies whose platforms are closest to you, irrespective of their nationality."

On the eve of the elections the desire to find points in common for people with different views so that our hopes may be realized can indeed be fulfilled. All inhabitants want to live in a socialist Estonia within the USSR and want to rise to a qualitatively new level. This was mentioned by V. Vyalyas in his television speech: "All talk of isolation, of enclosure within a narrow framework, of separation from the Union, of the renunciation of socialism, and so forth has no serious basis. This is being written and spoken by people who do not make policy in the republic.... Enormous Russia can live separately, having virtually all the necessary resources. Estonia cannot; it is inconceivable. To cut ourselves off, to break off existing economic ties means suicide. Every sensible Estonian and every inhabitant of Estonia understands that."

After all, we are all one family. We will always remember that.

New Latvian Interfront Paper Published

PM2803130989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "YEDINSTVO—The International Front's Newspaper"]

[Text] Riga, 23 Mar—The first issue of the newspaper YEDINSTVO, organ of the International Front of Latvian Working People, reached its readers today. Its main article, entitled "The Political Situation in Latvia and the Prospects for Its Development," analyzes the program demands of the International Front, which counts about 300,000 members in its ranks, and covers in detail the platform of the People's Front, another sociopolitical organization in the republic, approximately equal to it in numerical strength.

The first issue of YEDINSTVO identifies the sore spots on which there are differences of opinion in the republic. It also contains a suggested alternative draft law on languages. It carries letters by people pondering the language situation in Latvia. At the same time, there is support for the ideas of pooling the efforts by representatives of the more than 100 nations and ethnic groups living in the republic.

Lithuanian Bishops Ordained; 'Positive' Change

LD2003111989 Moscow TASS in English 1111 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Vilnius March 20 TASS—A ceremony to ordain bishops took place on Friday at the cathedral of Kaunas, the second largest city in Lithuania. Cardinal Vincentas Sladkiavicius, chairman of the Episcopal Conference of the Lithuanian Catholic Church, ordained two new bishops: Dean Iuozapas Matulajtis, Merkinsky prior, and Dean Iuozapas Zemajtis, Shakiajsky prior. After the chiromancy they will assume the duties of apostolic administrators: Zemajtis in the Vilkavishksky Eparchy, and Matulajtis in the Kajshiadorsky Eparchy.

Cardinal Sladkiavicius, the former apostolic administrator of the Kajshiadorsky Eparchy until now, also performed new duties at the ceremony. Pope John Paul II appointed him ordinary of the Kaunas Archeparchy, elevating him simultaneously to the rank of archbishop.

Promotions were received by the heads of all eparchies of the Lithuanian Catholic Church. Archbishop Iulienas Steponavicius, apostolic administrator of the Vilnius Archeparchy, became ordinary archbishop of the same eparchy. Bishop Iuozas Prejkshas, the former apostolic administrator of the Kaunas Archeparchy until this time, was appointed apostolic administrator of the Panevezys Eparchy, and Bishop Antanas Vajcius, apostolic administrator of the Telshiajskoy Eparchy, was appointed ordinary of this eparchy.

Quite a number of positive changes have taken place in the life of Lithuanian Catholics in the recent past. In Vilnius believers were given back the archiepiscopal cathedral of St. Kazimir, in Klaipeda—the Queen Mary of Peace Church. An understanding was reached with local authorities to build new temples in Vilnius and Kaunas. The magazine KATALIKU PASAULIS (WORLD OF CATHOLICS) has been launched. Describing these and other events, Cardinal Sladkiavicius said:

"These are positive and impressive changes. Their prime source is real perestroyka and spiritual renovation. These events inspire joy, since we think: they are not superficial and are not prompted by the time-serving consideraitons. Trust in a goodwill of partner is a valuable element, characteristic of the current relations between the church and the government."

Georgia Presidium Session Replaces Chairman

LD2903102589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 29 Mar 89

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet took place in Tbilisi today. It considered organizational issues. The session released Gilashvili from his duties as chairman of the presidium of the republic's supreme soviet in connection with his retirement. Cherkeziya, who was chairman of the republic's council of ministers, has been elected chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium. The session confirmed Chkheidze as chairman of Georgia's council of ministers. Patiashvili, first secretary of Georgia Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the session.

Former Krasnodar Party Chief Expelled From Party

PM2803142589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee"]

[Text] The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference received letters from citizens expressing the opinion that it is impossible for Comrade S.F. Medunov, former first secretary of the Krasnodar Kray CPSU Committee [kraykom], to remain in the party ranks.

The study of materials conducted on instructions from the CPSU Central Committee showed that Comrade Medunov, while working as party kraykom first secretary, committed serious breaches of CPSU Central Committee directives on stepping up the struggle against embezzlement, bribery, and other mercenary abuses and on educating cadres in a spirit of lofty moral purity and responsibility for their assigned tasks.

Using sundry means, all the way to discrediting of law enforcement organ officials, he protected bribe-takers and shielded them from criminal proceedings. This had a demoralizing effect on cadres.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee discussed the question "On the Unworthy Behavior by Party Member Comrade S.F. Medunov While First Secretary of the Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom" and sent a memorandum on this question for examination by Moscow's Gagarinskiy Rayon party committee [raykom].

The Gagarinskiy CPSU Raykom expelled Comrade S.F. Medunov from the party for serious breaches—committed while first secretary of the Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom—of party demands about stepping up the struggle against bribery and other mercenary abuses, for shielding kray leadership officials found guilty of bribe-taking, and for insincerity before the party.

Baku Situation Reported 'Calm,' Improving Daily

PM2803142989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Mar 89 First Edition p 2

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel O. Falichev, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent: "Azerbaijan, the End of March..."]

[Text] The paths taken by journalists are sometimes unpredictable. I can tell you, yesterday I was still in Yerevan, preparing an item on refugees. Today I am writing these lines from Baku. Following the publication of the Yerevan item, the editorial office received a number of responses. In particular, from Z. Abdullayev and A. Geydarov, members of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Geology Institute, and others, who wrote that "the situation in the city is calm and there are no transgressions of the law on interethnic grounds" and invited me to visit Baku and see with my own eyes, as they say, how everything has changed. The editorial office gave me the opportunity to do so.

Despite the fact that the special situation and curfew are still in effect in the city, quite frankly you are not aware of any tension. You no longer see the combat vehicles, armored personnel carriers, and military patrols in the streets as you did in December. Only at one point on the road from the airport to the city did I notice a military detail, which stood out in contrast against the background of the festive atmosphere. But this is just how it looks "on the outside," so to speak. What is the situation in reality? This question can be answered by a person who, in the performance of his official duties, keeps his finger on the pulse of life in the city and the region where a curfew has been introduced: Lieutenant General M. Kolesnikov, commandant of the Baku City Special District. I asked him to answer a few questions.

[Falichev] Comrade Lieutenant General, you have been a member of the special district's administration since the special situation was first introduced. Your knowledge of the situation extends further than the reports of your subordinates, so to speak. How would you describe this situation today?

[Kolesnikov] The situation is calm at present. There have been no cases of hooliganism or physical outrages against people on interethnic grounds. Enterprises and institutions are functioning normally.... I will be frank: Those refugees who left the city in December and January are still clinging to their old ideas and feelings about the situation here. I think this is the main explanation for the statements they made in the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA article "The Long Road Home." I must say that the situation is improving literally with every passing day.

[Falichev] This is evidently the result of the work done by the appropriate bodies.

[Kolesnikov] That is quite correct. Measures to quash unlawful actions by certain citizens who aim to whip up ethnic discord have been taken and continue to be taken through the combined efforts of the militia, the public prosecutor's office, and the military administration. We are strictly monitoring the administrations of institutions and enterprises in the fulfillment of their functions to restore returning citizens to work. Any incident stemming from interethnic causes is made public. This is possibly the most important thing—to create a climate of public opinion critical of such negative phenomena. That is why the labor collectives themselves are mainly to be thanked for the improvement in interethnic relations. People want a peaceful life. The following fact speaks for itself: Less than half of the troops previously brought in to safeguard normal life and activity in the city now remain.

[Falichev] But the special situation still continues to remain in effect?

[Kolesnikov] The question of giving the city administrative structures back their old powers, so to speak, and gradually abolishing the special situation is being considered by the republic's government, on whose decision, I must remind you, the special sitution was initially introduced. For our part, we are endeavoring to do everything we can so that this day comes as soon as possible. I and my deputy for political affairs, Major General B. Aleksandrov, together with officers, warrant officers, sergeants, and soldiers, are constantly having meetings with representatives of labor collectives, schools, and institutions.... Without evading the serious issues, we talk with people honestly and openly about all their problems and try to help them find solutions.

[Falichev] The authors of the letter to the editorial office from the Geology Institute question the number of refugees given....

[Kolesnikov] Unfortunately, information reports from the two republics' councils of ministers commissions and working groups responsible for the refugees are not identical in all respects. I receive information on Baku, in particular. On 1 January 1988 approximately 190,000 people of Armenian nationality were living in Baku. On 1 January 1989 the figure was 160,500, and on 15 March—167,000. In other words, there has been an appreciable increase as a result of people returning. That is good. On the other hand, according to our statistics, some 23,000 people have left the city. Of these, 7,000 have gone to Armenia and the rest have gone to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. On the whole, the refugee problem is still quite serious. It is the mood of the refugees that is now, figuratively speaking, the combustible material which sometimes destabilizes the situation. So what are we doing to solve the problem? In principle, we are trying to solve the most diverse tasks without sending people to other authorities, as they say. Several thousand people have been received in the office of the special district commandant alone. Since the curfew has been in effect we have received some 48,000 different statements, requests, and suggestions from citizens. They have all been looked into.

[Falichev] Why, if the situation is calm, have you apparently been unable to halt the population migration so far?

[Kolesnikov] First of all I would like to stress that everything we are talking about obviously fully applies to refugees from both republics and has a mirror reflection, so to speak. It is important to bear this in mind. We are equally concerned about the fate of every individual, regardless of his nationality or the republic in which he lives. With regard to your question, the answer, I believe, lies in the fact that, first, people still doubt that their future is going to be free of problems. They are not totally convinced of the stability of the situation. Here, I believe, an important role can be played by party and soviet bodies and the press, which are expected to convey the truth to them. Secondly, we cannot dismiss the tradition of strong family ties: The departure of even one member of the family, one relative, often uproots the others from home. I would like to take this opportunity to appeal to everyone who has left: Please return. There is no threat to you, your apartments have not been taken over but are being guarded in expectation of their owners' return.

[Falichev] Thank you, Comrade Lieutenant General. I do not think your words will go unheeded.

[Falichev continues his report] It so happened that when the time allotted for the interview was over, the telephone on Lieutenant General Kolesnikov's desk began to ring.

"It is Comrade Golubev, second secretary of the Baku gorkom [city party committee]," the general explained to me, his hand over the mouthpiece. "He says he is prepared to allow the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent to go to any part of the city to meet the leadership and the people. Would you like to go?"

Azizbekovskiy Rayon is right on the outskirts of the city. It is an oil area. It yields 62 percent of all the oil extracted in the republic. More than 100,000 people live here, and of these some 4,000 are Armenian. More than 40 nationalities live in the rayon as a whole. Talking with the rayon's party and soviet leaders, I realized time and again how much depends on their taking an active stand and adhering to principle in the observance of legality and civil rights and freedoms. This rayon was one of the safest, if I may express it as such, at that time, in December, and the same is true today. It is no secret that there are a considerable number of such examples to be found both in Armenia and here, in Azerbaijan, where whole rayons, enterprises, or workshops have remained zones of calm in the raging human sea, little islands of justice and sober reason. And I must emphasize that this has depended on the leaders of the rayons and their closest associates.

"We had one case where some 2,000 people from one of the enterprises tried to support the demonstrators," N. Nadzhafov, first secretary of the Azizbekovskiy rayon party committee [raykom], said. "As it turned out later, Akhmedov, one of the deputy leaders of the enterprise, was among the instigators. But at that time it was hard to establish who the ringleader was and stop the mass of people. I decided, however, that, as a former frontline fighter, I must not be seen to panic. So I literally went out into the road and stood in their path. I said what came into my head at that moment. And only about 50 people ignored my words.... They included Akhmedov, who was subsequently dismissed from the collective with a reprimand, and even an order from the deputy minister of nonferrous metallurgy was not enough to restore him to his position...."

Niyazi Nadzhafovich Nadzhafov has continued to show this firmness, sometimes even severity. He has brought six people to trial for trying to loot homes standing empty and has visited settlements, talked to people, explained things to them. And I must point out that there has not been a single incident on interethnic grounds in the rayon which it would now be shameful to recall.

Nevertheless, I must admit that I had some reservations as I made my way to the House of Culture, where I was due to have a meeting with representatives of Armenian nationality living here. "What will they say?" I thought to myself on the way.

Avakyan Gurgen Tigranovich, a participant in the Great Patriotic War: "I am a pensioner but I still go to work. As a working person, I will say: Everything that has happened is not the handiwork of a nation but of the enemies of restructuring. There have been no breaches of legality in our rayon on an interethnic basis. We have the rayon leadership to thank for this. And as far as the special situation is concerned, I would not mind if it were to continue for a while. As frontline fighters say, there is shooting even after the war is over."

Sarkisyan Albert, a 51-year-old electrician: "Not a single hair has fallen from the head of an Armenian in our rayon. And now everything is calm...."

I also spoke to economist T. Oganesyan, S. Agabekyan, who is temporarily unemployed, and others. M. Geydarov, rayon soviet deputy; G. Mamedov, a senior district militia officer; and N. Zaydov, second secretary of the party raykom; also spoke to me.... I felt that they were genuinely concerned for the situation in the rayon to be really calm. They all inclined to the thought that those who had left should return. But despite all this, I reached the conclusion that the syndrome of past experiences was still alive in these people and had not simply vanished into thin air. This was primarily evident from the fact that some 70 percent of those I spoke to said they were in favor of the special situation being maintained.

"People who have been dismissed sometimes find it hard to get another job," Colonel of Internal Forces I. Rubtsov, commandant of 26 Baku Commissars Rayon, told me in the evening of the same day. "We have to intervene. There have also been some cases of anonymous threatening letters being sent to people...."

On 14 March a report by the military commandant of the Baku City Special District cited the case of driver Alkhasov being arrested for inciting interethnic discord. A similar case had occurred several days before in another rayon, which was also reported by the commandant. All this goes some way to explain the delay in abolishing the special situation: It still appears to be necessary at the moment.

And another thing—about the refugee figures. They do vary in the republic councils of ministers' commissions responsible for refugee issues. I was given one set of figures in Yerevan and another set in Baku. But people do pay close attention to all these figures and see if they make sense, so to speak. And if they feel that the figures are not objective, they are rightly indignant. All this simply excites ethnic feeling and gives rise to idle gossip. Is it not time the competent bodies concerned in both republics finally clarified these figures and worked out a common method of calculation? Especially as the refugee problem is now being moved into the forefront, as I was informed in the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. I was told the same thing in Armenia. We must not forget that the lives of real, live people lie behind every figure.

Azerbaijan Commission Meets on Development

*NC2303085489 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0440 GMT 23 Mar 89*

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Upgrading the pace of social and economic development is an urgent requirement of reconstruction. The first meeting of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Commission for Social and Economic Development has examined the question of realizing this complex and important task and the ways of strengthening the effort made by the party committees in that direction.

Gasan Gasanov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, chaired this first meeting. The commission set up the program for its activities in the near future and approved the work plan it will put into effect in 1989.

You can read detailed information on the meeting in the newspapers today.

Azerbaijan's Mutalibov Visits Shusha Rayon

*NC2803110689 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0340 GMT 28 Mar 89*

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Ayaz Mutalibov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, has visited Shusha Rayon. The newspapers report that the talks he held in the rayon focused on the way the following two decisions are being realized: the decision adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers regarding the measures required to upgrade the pace of social and economic development in the Azerbaijan SSR Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and the decision adopted by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers regarding the measures required to further improve the [word indistinct] complex at [word indistinct] level.

The newspapers publish detailed information in that regard.

Decree Appoints Azerbaijan Gossnab Chairman

*PM2803145789 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY
in Russian 11 Mar 89 p 1*

["Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Appointment of Comrade A.Sh. Azizbekov as Chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply"]

[Text] The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves to appoint Comrade Aydyn Shamilogly Azizbekov chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab].

S. Tatliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
R. Kaziyeva, secretary of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
10 March 1989, Baku

Call for 'Stricter Appraisal' of Kiev Official

PM2803132389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[Mikhail Odinets "Own Correspondent's Column": "Following a 'Rally' Encounter"]

[Text] Kiev—One day toward the end of last February V. Selekh, chief of department at the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences Superhard Materials Institute, happened to be in the square outside the city post office. Seeing a group of informal association members carrying election campaign posters and trying to hold a rally he, like some other passers-by, became curious and stopped. On hearing shouts by aggressively inclined demagogues, the scientist embarked on a debate, upholding the policy of the party and the cause of restructuring.

This episode may not have had any special effect on his life, had Selekh not been seen right there, in the square, by A. Pashkeivch, secretary of the Minskiy Rayon party committee [raykom]. They exchanged greetings, and one would have thought that the party secretary would have been pleased to see a like-minded person in the crowd and, bearing in mind that Pashkevich was in the company of institute staffer A. Semerenko, the three of them could have dealt with the demagogues.

But matters went no further than the formal exchange of greetings. A day later V. Selekh, member of the institute party committee in charge of ideological questions, was invited to a conversation at the Party Commission under the Minskiy Ukrainian Communist Party Raykom. Commission Chairman V. Fedorov asked a succession of questions which could not have failed to disturb his interlocutor's mental composure. For example, he wanted to know why Selekh happened to be at the site of an unauthorized rally in the vicinity of October Revolution Square, which institute staffers he had see there, what issues he had debated with the informal association members, what happened during the encounter with the raykom secretary, what was Selekh's opinion of that rally, and so on. When it became clear that the questions were numerous—nine of them—it was decided that written answers to them would be submitted in addition to the oral explanations.

I have before me a letter from Candidate of Technical Sciences and Communist V. Selekh addressed to the Minskiy party raykom. Having listed all the nine questions he was asked, the writer of the letter remarks that "even though the conversation was properly conducted, I found it reminiscent of a biased interrogation by the investigations department and, in my view, a conversation in this style is intolerable in our democratic society, especially between party comrades."

Replying to one of V. Fedorov's questions in detail, V. Selekh put forward substantive suggestions: "The majority of people who, like me, accidentally happen to attend a so-called rally cannot know whether it has been authorized or not. If the city authorities' organs take no active steps in accordance with current legislation, one might imagine that it has been authorized."

And he goes on: "A sizable proportion of active demagogues at such rallies slander the party and denigrate its policy. I therefore believe that it is the duty of Communists and even more so of party workers on the ideological front to attend such rallies more often, not as silent extras but in order to actively expose the demagoguery, and possibly hostility to socialism, of individual debaters."

Since A. Dotsenko, deputy secretary of the institute party committee, attended the conversation at the party commission and failed to defend the party committee member's honor and dignity, V. Selekh addressed to the institute party committee a statement containing the following words: "I ask for an appraisal of my actions as a Communist and party committee member." I was told that the session was stormy and lengthy. A decision was ultimately adopted: Comrade Selekh, as a Communist and citizen, honestly and openly supports restructuring. The party committee perceives no evidence to compromise his actions.

As for an appraisal of the actions by party commission chairman V. Fedorov in the prevailing situation, the party committee session put forward two options—to abstain or to appraise. The majority voted in favor of the second option. Right away those assembled resolved that Fedorov's actions be deemed "improper." True enough, Doctor of Technical Sciences A. Lisovskiy, secretary of the institute party committee, told me, some participants in the session suggested harsher words—"to adjudge Fedorov's actions biased and prejudiced," but nevertheless they went no further than impropriety.

It is a pity. The Party Commission chairman's behavior toward Communist Selekh really demands a much stricter and principled appraisal, and so do the actions by A. Pashkevich, secretary of the Minskiy party raykom, who started this whole unseemly story.

Two West Ukrainian Anniversaries Marked

AU2003125789 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 5 Mar 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "The Successors of the Revolutionary Traditions"]

[Excerpts] A Soviet-Polish scientific conference dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine ended in Lvov on 4 March. It was organized by the Institute of the History of the Party under the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee—a branch of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee—the Institute of the History of the Workers Movement under the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences, Lvov

Oblast Party Committee [Obkom], the I.Ya. Franko State University, and the Social Sciences Institute of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences.

Participating in the conference proceedings were leading specialists from Moscow, Kiev, Lvov, Minsk, and Ivano-Frankovsk, as well as a group of scientists from the Polish People's Republic. The conference participants warmly congratulated veterans of the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine, who were present in the hall, on the jubilee.

In an opening speech, Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, emphasized that the foundation of a new-type proletarian party in the Ukraine's western region was a historical phenomenon of fateful importance for all Ukrainian people in their striving to reunify all their lands in one single sovereign state. The unforgettable autumn of 1939 had made this dream come true. [passage omitted]

The current year, Yu.N. Yelchenko continued, has combined in one single common festive occasion two events that are memorable for our people: the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine and the 50th anniversary of the reunification of Ukrainian lands. These jubilees will be widely and ceremoniously commemorated, both in our republic and beyond its borders. [passage omitted]

The creation of the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine, it was noted at the conference, was a natural result of the workers and national liberation movement developing in the late 19th and early 20th century, and of the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution. [passage omitted]

Broad prospects for research on the history of the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine, it was emphasized at the conference, have been opened for the scientists of the Ukraine and Poland by the program signed in 1988 for cooperation between the Ukrainian Communist Party and the PZPR Central Committees. A concrete step toward implementing the program was marked by the agreement concluded for cooperation between the Institute of the History of the Party under the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee—a branch of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee—and the Institute of the History of the Workers Movement of the PZPR Academy of Sciences, between higher educational and scientific institutions in the two fraternal neighboring countries. The first results of these relations were reflected in the reports and speeches delivered by F.M. Rudich, director of the Institute of the History of the Party under the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, D. Benton, director of the Institute of the History of the Workers Movement under the PZPR Central Committee, Yu.Yu. Slivka, chief of the Social Sciences Department of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, and other participants in the scientific conference.

The participants in the Soviet-Polish scientific conference adopted recommendations for further important aspects of research on the history of the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine, and on perpetuating the memory of the fighters of the revolutionary national liberation movement in west Ukrainian lands.

A roundtable session was held, with the participation of veterans of the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine.

The conference proceedings were attended by Ya.P. Pogrebnyak, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Lvov Obkom first secretary, and A.V. Merkulov, department chief in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. W. Woskowski, chief of the consular agency of the Polish People's Republic in Lvov, was present at the conference.

While in Lvov, Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, met the oblast's ideological aktivists to discuss topics concerning the working people's ideological and political education under the present conditions.

Hungarian Society Founded in Ukraine

AU2803114789 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 21 Mar 89 p 2

[Report by PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent Ya. Yadlovskiy: "A Hungarian Culture Society in the Ukraine"]

[Text] **To develop the native language, traditions, and customs of the oblast's Hungarian population, to promote internationalist education and the original folklore, and to strengthen links with the working people of the Hungarian People's Republic—these are the main objectives of the Hungarian Culture Society founded recently in Transcarpathia.**

"This is more proof of the expanding democratization and glasnost in our country," Sh.L. Fodo, chairman of the society and lecturer at Uzhgorod State University, said. "We are citizens and patriots of the Soviet homeland. For this reason we completely support the party's policy of revolutionary restructuring, and hope also to contribute as much as we can toward this beneficial process. The Hungarian Culture Society is open to representatives of other ethnic groups. Thus we are assisted by Ukrainians Pavel Chuchka and Petr Lizanets, professors at Uzhgorod University, by poet Yuriy Shkrovinets, and others.

"In Transcarpathia, there are 170,000 Hungarians who participate in the oblast's life on an equal footing with representatives of the 30 other nationalities—Ukrainians and Russians, Czechs and Slovaks, Romanians and

Germans.... We have Hungarian-language schools; books in Hungarian are being published in the republic's publishing house 'Karpaty' in Uzhgorod; there are Hungarian newspapers published in the oblast, and and the oblast's television and radio broadcast in Hungarian. School graduates, at their request, can take entrance examinations in Hungarian. Uzhgorod University trains teachers of Hungarian language and literature. A center of Soviet Hungarian studies has been created there.

"We hope that our society will become another bridge between the Soviet and the Hungarian peoples," Sh. Fodo concluded. "We shall continue to strengthen friendship between the Hungarians and representatives of other ethnic groups for whom our Transcarpathian land is equally near and dear."

Interrepublic Communications Agreement Signed

LD2903040889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Information from Tashkent: Five ministers of communication from republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan today signed a joint protocol on the extension of cooperation. Its aim is the improvement of the exchange of television and radio programs, the further development of communications services, and the improvement of the services to the multinational population of the region.

Special attention was devoted to satellite communications; a new radio and television complex will allow all regions of the republics to be linked by radio and television channels. In the next few months the republics will start an exchange of newspapers and magazines which will be sold in the print union [Joyuzpechat] kiosks.

Maslyukov Comments on Rights of Republics

LD2903021789 Moscow World Service in English 0210 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] [Announcer] This country has recently adopted guidelines for streamlining the administration of economic and social services in the Soviet republics. The republics are to enforce their soverign rights and promote self-government and self-financing. We turn for comment to Yuriy Maslyukov, member of the Communist Party Political Bureau and chairman of the State Planning Committee:

[Maslyukov, in Russian with superimposed English translation] At a certain stage of the country's development, the sovereign rights of the constituent republics were abused. Many of their functions were assumed by the central bodies, which led to a diktat of the national ministries. As a result, a serious disproportion has developed between the republics' economic potentials and their social sectors. The ecological situation in the republics has become more complex. The Soviet state-owned and cooperative enterprises have been granted rights in running their affairs. It is time to match these rights by greater economic independence of the republics.

[Announcer] Yuriy Maslyukov, who heads the State Planning Committee. Under those guidelines the republics are to take charge of the agricultural industries, consumer goods and services. They will also have a priority in considering ecological and social problems in their territory.

Meeting Focuses on Regional Financial Autonomy

LD2203221289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Problems of regional financial autonomy were the focus of attention of those taking part in a meeting which was held in Moscow at the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry press center. The reason for the meeting was the draft submitted for national discussion on the general principles of the restructuring of the management of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics on the basis of an extension of their sovereign rights, self-government, and self-financing.

As Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, noted in his introductory speech, the diktat of the union departments has become the cause of a number of social, economic, ecological, and other problems of the republics. And it is their solution which the transition of the republics to the principles of self-government and self-financing is called upon to assist. It was emphasized that the work of the commission on the draft—of which representatives of all the union republics were members—was of a truly democratic nature. Despite the divergences in approaches, all of the principles in the draft were brought to generally acceptable formulations and were appoved by representatives of all the union republics.

Answering questions on the possibility of introducing their own currencies in the republics, Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, reported that this proposal was declined after discussion. The Estonian representative who had made it did not insist on its acceptance. The arguments in favor of such a decision are that republican currencies would hinder the integration of production, would cause an imbalance in the division of labor, and would complicate the functioning of the internal union market.

News Conference Held on Draft Law

LD2203143789 Moscow TASS in English 1415 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—A draft law on social self-government and local economy has been drawn up in the Soviet Union. It will be shortly published for nation-wide discussion. This was stated today by Aleksandr Smirnov, head of the territorial economic development and capital construction sector of the USSR Council of Ministers' managing department. He took part in a press-conference arranged here by the Soviet Government's Information Department.

Aleksandr Smirnov stressed that the document was closely linked with the recently published draft general principles of restructuring economic and social management in union republics. In carrying out a cardinal reform of the foundations of territorial management, we should not reduce it to the mere transformation of relations between the centre and the republics. The republics must relegate a part of their rights to regions and districts, he said.

Stepan Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee, who spoke at the press-conference, noted that the document reflected a tendency to democratize all spheres of management. Proposals of all the union republics were taken into consideration. It is noteworthy that the republics are granted the right to supplement and amend the "general principles" or the law that will be adopted on their basis.

The press-conference participants noted that implementation of the drafted principles would not increase the disbalance in the economic development of the republics. Grants and development programmes for individual regions will help to eliminate the existing disproportions.

Touching on the proposals of some republics to issue their own money, Stepen Sitaryan said that they were rejected after thorough discussion. It was found that expansion of the rights of union republics has the purpose of accelerating the economic development of the country as a whole. Circulation of separate currencies in the republics would not contribute to integrational processes in the country's national economy.

Muslims Dismiss 'Islam and Democracy' Group

LD2503210189 Tashkent SOVIET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 12 Mar 89 p 3

[Article signed by S. Mukhammedov]

[Text] Radio Liberty and, later, other mass media in the West have somehow begun to talk seriously about the exuberant activity of the "Islam and Democracy" group. This is happening at a time when Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan are making preparations for their kurultay. Many important questions which interest religious people will be solved at the kurultay. For example, there will be serious and practical talks about how restructuring has added new facets to relations between the state and religious organizations.

At this responsible time of preparations for the kurultay, a self-declared spokesman for all Muslims has emerged. At the same time, he speaks not only on behalf of Muslims of Central Asia but of the whole country. This person is the 32-year-old Olmos Estekov who does not work anywhere and has been tried twice before. He calls himself the founder and leader of an organization with a high-sounding name—"Islam and Democracy."

Estekov is an extremely ambitious person and has neither serious knowledge nor reasonable aims or thoughts. But he is making a lot of noise around himself. On 3 February a spontaneous meeting of people who were not happy with the work of the former chairman of the spiritual administration was staged. Estekov regards himself as the organizer of this meeting. And as if this were not enough, he claims that the meeting of religious people was of a political nature.

Participants in the meeting on 3 February resolutely say that this is a slander. But Estekov does not listen to these intelligent voices. Furthermore, no one shares his views. After this he began to search for credulous people to surround him.

Where is the activity of the group called "Islam and Democracy" noticeable? Nothing is said about this on the radio stations. Of course, it is not possible to find the real facts either. All broadcasts are devoted only to the claims of Estekov. Of course, it would not be possible for the noise-loving journalists of the West to take no notice of a person who pretends to be the leader of Muslims. What a noise—Muslims in the USSR are coming out with their political programs!

Shaykh Yusufkhan Shakirov, deputy chairman of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, said: "As I mentioned earlier in the press, I had never heard of the organization called 'Islam and Democracy.' Soon after my statement to the press on this subject, Estekov came to the administration and put forward meaningless claims. In fact, I knew nothing about Estekov until then. He gave me and the officials of the administration the impression of being an arrogant and selfish person. While he was trying to repeat verses from the Koran he made crude mistakes. Generally, it was difficult to understand what he was trying to prove. He refrained from answering questions directly. We did not find him a serious interlocutor for a talk. For example, he said that many preacher-imams support him, but we noticed that he does not even know the name of one of them."

R. Ilyasov, operator of the "Tashkentmramor" production association, said:

"At present there is no pressure on religious people. I, personally, actively participated in activities of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, and I know that no organization was involved in this."

Many believers think like this.

One thing among the fabrications by Estekov calls for attention. His organization allegedly possesses a Sunni center. Estekov said that the Mirza Yusup mosque was the address of this nonexistent center. In Radio Liberty broadcasts even its telephone number was given.

A. Rakhmatullayev, preacher-imam of the above-mentioned mosque says:

"I have really seen Estekov. Three months ago he came to me and began to talk about holy war. I asked if he had religious knowledge. He said that he did not have any. Soon it was evident that he could not speak clearly. After that I told him that we had nothing to talk about and stopped talking to him. Those who give air time to people like Estekov baffle me more than anything."

These are the facts about the existence of a false organization called "Islam and Democracy" and opinions about its alleged "leader" Estekov.

* Yamal Industrial Development Schemes Resisted

WA18300450 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 15 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by L. Bayandin, chairman of the Yamalo-Nentskiy Okrug Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee: "The Assault Must Be Postponed"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] **Over the past 2 years our newspaper has turned on more than one occasion to the subject of industrial development in Yamal, where there are large reserves of natural gas. In record short time a grandiose construction site has been set up there. However, not only high rates but also numerous mistakes have been noted in the assault on this Arctic peninsula. We have already reported that the Yamalo-Nenetskiy Okrug Ispolkom [Executive Committee] has adopted a decision to halt work at the deposits and cut off financial backing for industrial projects. The reason for this is the serious ecological and social problems that have arisen in the zone of construction. This decisive step has met with the full approval of the indigenous population in the okrug and has been supported by the country's scientific community. So it is the more alarming to hear about the growing pressure on the local authorities from influential departments demanding that construction be restarted. So what is going on in and around Yamal?**

First of all, I would like to recall the claims that we raised last year against the Ministry of the Gas Industry when we halted construction. This ministry and its Tyumen subdivisions, which are acting as the contractors, were obligated first and foremost to provide their own construction workers with design documentation for work on the deposit and transport communications. And the actions of their people were to have been coordinated by two main administrations of the Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises, the "Yamaltransstroy" Association, which was laying a railroad link, and the State Committee for the Gas Industry [Komigasprom], which had started drilling the boreholes.

The Ministry of the Gas Industry failed to cope with these tasks. Designs were provided only for particular individual sections. The contract organizations were operating without coordination. Wherever it was possible to lay one road, several were laid. Instead of one area for a common duty shift settlement, two or three were cleared. This all led to major material losses whose true dimensions have yet to be established. But the main thing is that totally unjustified and largely irreparable harm was done to nature there in the Arctic, to agriculture, and to the indigenous population of the peninsula.

To devise a well-considered strategy for opening the deposits at Yamal, keep its effect on the ecosystem to a minimum, and provide full compensation for agricultural losses—these were the requirements that we made of the gas people. Although not immediately and not uncomplainingly they were ultimately forced to accept those requirements.

What, then, has happened over the past half year? A new designer has been appointed—the Yuzhniigiprogaz Institute, which was assigned the task of developing a comprehensive design for work on the entire deposit. Without delay specialists from this institute prepared a technical-economic brief for the construction. The document was delivered to Salekhard for consideration by the ispolkom and representatives of the public. And what did we see? Calculations on installations for the preparation of gas, gas pipelines, main highways for transport.... And the ecology? Reindeer breeding? The social needs of the local inhabitants? Attention to these things was minimal, possible losses had obviously been understated, and questions of restoring land and reindeer pasture had not been considered.

"Approve the technical-economic brief," workers from the Ministry of the Gas Industry urged us, "and we shall resolve these matters later. They require basic research and we do not have time for that now. For the gas at Yamal is needed by the national economy by the beginning of the next 5-year plan."

Well, the position of the ministry is understandable. But life itself adduces arguments of another kind. Now we are summing up the results of active industrial development of the okrug which has been going on for the last three 5-year plans. And here are the tragic results: During that time 28 rivers have been hopelessly polluted and have lost their value as fishing grounds. The fish catch in the okrug has fallen from 17,500 to 12,000 tons annually. Six million hectares of land have been withdrawn from use as reindeer pasture. The operation of an enormous inventory of cross-country equipment roaming back and forth across the tundra has led to the mass migration of wild animals and destroyed bird nesting grounds.

New zones unsuitable for supporting the indigenous population are appearing in the tundra. The inhabitants have been forced to move out of the areas of the Medvezhye, Urnegoysk, and Yamburhskiy gas deposits and from the southern part of the okrug being worked by the petroleum workers.

They are telling us that the geologists and gas and oil workers are bringing civilization to the northerners. But here are the results of this civilization seen through the mirror of statistics: During the years of industrialization average life expectancy for the indigenous inhabitants of the North has fallen 13 to 14 years. Infant mortality has risen and today is 2.5 times higher than the average for the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. The number of those suffering from alcoholism has increased 60 percent. According to the most conservative calculations, about 20 percent of the ablebodied indigenous population is not engaged in socially useful work.... So with what lofty ideas can we justify opening up the Yamal to this kind of "civilization?"

The ispolkom has adopted a decision that we think is the only correct one in this situation: to agree on the technical-economic brief, but only that part dealing with scientific research and design and survey work. Funding should be provided only for preferential construction of nature conservation and social-production projects. Here, it is stipulated that all work will again be halted if the client and contract organizations violate the strict conditions imposed on them. This same decision states that "the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee], the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry will be asked to develop a comprehensive program to coordinate engineering, ecological, social, and economic problems in the industrial development of the Yamal peninsula and the continental shelf contiguous to it. In the program special attention must be paid to insuring social protection for the indigenous nationalities of the North in connection with the changes in their working and everyday conditions."

This is our position. We are not about to retreat from it. And we ask everyone who is not indifferent to the fate of Yamal to support us.

Enterprises Win Economic, Social Awards

NC2903085889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee have announced the winners of the all-union socialist competition for the successful realization of the state plan for the Soviet Union's economic and social development in 1988. The names of 13 establishments, collective farms [kolkhozes], and state farms [sovkhozes] have been registered in the honorary list of the USSR exhibition of economic products, and they have been awarded with the Challenge Red Banners of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee.

The Sumgait Chemical Products Union, the Azerbaijan "Lenin" Metal Pipes Factory, the Lenin Kolkhoz in Agdamskiy Rayon, the Kalinin Kolkhoz in Ismailly Rayon, the Shaumyan Kolkhoz in Neftechala Rayon, the [words indistinct] Factory, the Astara Rayon Tea-Producing Installation No 2, and other organizations are among the establishments which have been presented awards.

Seventeen establishments, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes in the republic have been presented with the Challenge Red Banners of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee. The [word indistinct] Survey and Drilling Administration affiliated with the Caspian Oil and Natural Gas Production Union, the Baku Candy-Producing Complex, the Sadyrabad [word indistinct] Factory, the Sumgait [word indistinct] Complex No 3, the Murdeshi Kasumov Kolkhoz in Aksu Rayon, the Geray Asadov Kolkhoz in (?Geraybeyli) Rayon, the (?Sadyrad) [word indistinct] in Zakataly Rayon, the Russia Sovkhoz in Fuzuli Rayon, the Samad (?Urgun) Sovkhoz in Kazakh, and other establishments are among the award recipients.

* Statistics on Railroad 'Wrecks' Revealed

WA18290139 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 12, 25-31 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by V. Startsev under the heading "In Light of Glasnost": "Wrecks: Causes and Effects"]

[Text] Soviet railroads transport about 9 billion people daily, including more than 4 billion passengers on suburban and long-distant railway service.

Today, in the period of glasnost, we cannot limit ourselves just to this information. We are all passengers to some extent, so we are extremely concerned with everything related to transportation safety. Thus, are more or fewer people dying today as a result of railroad accidents? Here are several figures.

During the period 1980-1988, an average of 46 passengers were killed annually in passenger train wrecks on USSR railroads.

In 1988, 47 people were killed, including 25 as a result of the high-speed train Avrora's accident, and 10 as a result of fire on the Moscow-Kustanay train.

Table 1.

Indicator	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
1. Passenger train wrecks	20	15	16	9	10	6	14	16	8
2. Number of passengers killed	80	20	33	19	21	-	62	135	47

The railroad sections having the highest accident rate include: Odessa, Tbilisi, Baku, Chimkent, Dzhambul, Tynda, Skovorodino, and Tuapsi.

The largest number of wrecks (35 percent), including passenger train wrecks, are the fault of track workers, mainly due to unsatisfactory maintenance and most flagrant violations of procedures for track repair. Half of the wrecks occur due to rails breaking under the trains.

Today, the capacity of the rails on the 44,000 km of main tracks does not correspond to the actual loads from rolling stock; the operating life of rails on 33,000 km has already been exhausted. As a result the rails have a significant (60-70 percent) loss of initial operational stability, and the number of defective ties and switch and bridge ties is more than triple the allowable level.

Who is to blame for this? Is it only the Ministry of Railways? The ministries that are suppliers, particularly the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the Ministry of the Timber Industry, regularly have problems with deliveries of rails and fasteners, wooden ties, and switch and bridge ties.

Thus, during the last three 5-year plans, delivery shortages by enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy amounted to 1.5 million tons (11,000 km) of rails, and in the 3 years of the current 5-year plan, the delivery shortage is already 187,000 tons (1,700 km). This has not made it possible to replace railroad rails whose operating life has been used up.

But quite a few accidents are the fault of railroad workers. The main causes are sleeping in the locomotive, distraction from observing signals, incorrect brake control, misunderstanding signals or commands, and uncoordinated actions with supervisors of switching operations.

Another cause of train wrecks is traffic safety violations at railroad crossings. Every year there are 650 collisions of motor vehicles with trains, resulting in 350 deaths (average during between 1980 and 1988).

The questions automatically arises: How do things stand with traffic safety in other countries?

Table 2. Comparative Data for Railroads in USSR and a Number of Foreign Countries

Indicator	USSR	U.S.	Great Britain	France	FRG	Japan
Passenger volume (millions)	4360.1	310.6	708.2	778.8	1075.0	6884
Passenger turnover, (billion passenger-km)	413.6	19.1	30.3	59.9	44.2	194.2
Average annual number of passenger fatalities	46	89	13	37	43	7

The foreign press has published data characterizing the level of traffic safety for various types of transportation.

Table 3. Number of Fatalities Annually from Wrecks, Disasters, and Accidents for Various Types of Transport

Type of Transport	USSR	U.S.	Great Britain	France	FRG	Japan
Motor Vehicle	40,000	43,795	5,342	10,447	8,400	9,261
Air	197	788	577	16	64	8
Sea	not given	not given	343	262	3	308
Rail	47	89	13	37	43	7

* Miners Stage Sit-in Over Pay, Labor Conditions

WA18280093 Moscow TRUD in Russian
10 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by V. Golovachev based on interviews with A.K. Belikov, deputy minister of the coal industry, and A.F. Chebotayev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Coal Industry Workers: "Emergency at 'Severnaya' Mine"]

[Text] An emergency occurred at the "Severnaya" mine, one of the best not only in the Polar area, but in the entire country. On 2 March, the first shift of division No 9 declared that it would not leave the mine until the demands of miners, mainly concerning wages, were met. The second shift went underground, and also decided not to go to the surface. Then the third and the fourth shifts joined them.... By the morning of 3 March, there were as many as 107 people in the mine.

The miners did not take that extreme step right away. First they took their issues to the council of the labor collective of the mine. This took place in early February. The council met and considered the demands, but ultimately adopted an unfavorable decision on 20 February.

The miners also approached the deputy general director of the association for economic issues, A.A. Tsurupa, and the city committee of the party.... However, the issues of concern to the labor collective still were not solved.

The Minister of the Coal Industry of the USSR M.I. Shchadov, his deputies A.P. Fisun, A.K. Belikov, V.V. Vilchitskiy, G.I. Nuzhdikhin, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Coal Industry Workers M.A. Srebnyy, and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Trade Union A.F. Chebotayev, urgently flew to Vorkuta....

Our editorial office approached the Ministry of the Coal Industry of the USSR and the Central Committee of the trade union with a request to comment on the events taking place in Vorkuta.

The first question goes to to the Deputy Minister A. Belikov:

[Golovachev] What demands did the miners make?

[Belikov] There were six demands altogether. They mostly concerned issues of remuneration and organization of operations. Before I talk about it in more detail I will describe in general terms the economic situation at the mine. The collective is working under economic accountability using its second model, that is, only the funds which have been earned may be transferred to the remuneration fund and distributed among the members of the collective. However, in this case the miners found themselves in a bad situation largely through no fault of their own. They were producing coal without fail, but serious difficulties arose with shipping it to the customers. There is an acute shortage of railway cars, and, despite all our appeals to the Ministry of Railways, there is no tangible improvement in the situation. This is the case not only in Vorkuta but throughout the country. On the whole, 36 million tons of coal ready for shipment have now been accumulated, and in Vorkuta—600,000 tons. Since the coal is not reaching the consumers payments for it are not being made. The miners got the salary; however, bonuses in the last months were 40 to 50 rubles smaller.

The first demand of the miners was to pay them all bonuses which they have not received for December, January, and February, totaling 13,356 rubles.

We solved this problem quickly. The lacking money was allocated from the ministry fund, though under real economic accountability they should have been taken from the funds of the Ministry of Railways. After all, the critical situation in Vorkuta developed exactly because of the shortage of cars.

The second demand of the miners was to establish firm tariffs for the coal mined. Once again, you cannot but agree with the workers. It is no good when tariffs change almost every month. However, it is hard to understand why managers from the ministry have to handle that. At present, such issues fall within the purview of the collective itself, the same as setting performance standards. A problem also arose in this regard. The miners declared that they did not agree with the new, higher standards of output. As they see it, it is necessary to recalculate the salaries proceeding from the old norms, and pay the difference to them.

We have solved this issue, and another one associated with remuneration though—I repeat—the collective should have done it.

As far as other demands are concerned, we told them straightforwardly: Comrades, nobody but you and your colleagues can find a solution in this matter. For example, you demand that managerial personnel at the mine be cut by 40 percent. We may only welcome this. Reduce it to your heart's content; however, the collective will have to do it. As early as December of last year, the minister sent a letter to the managers of enterprises and councils of labor collectives where the need to reduce the managerial apparatus when switching over to economic accountability was mentioned. The "Vorkutaugol" Association also has this letter. The collective has all the rights and opportunities. Nobody can do this work instead of the collective.

One more demand concerned the introduction of extra pay for work on the night shift. There is nothing unclear about that. Such extra pay is mandatory. However, the enterprise itself has to earn this money. Nobody can violate the regulations in effect, not the minister nor the central committee of the trade union.

The final demand of the miners: they expressed their lack of confidence in the mine director N.V. Tishchenko and the economic services. As I see it, it is not that much of a problem. At a meeting of the collective (there were about 700 people in the hall), minister M. Shchadov said:

—If you are expressing the lack of confidence in the director, you are the ones who can vote him out. Who is voting no confidence? Raise your hands....

Those present at the meeting voted.

—This means, summed up the minister, that you should convene a conference, elect another director and council of the labor collective—in a word, solve your problems and take part in management. Announce a competition for the position of director; after all, the pertinent arrangement is well known....

[Golovachev] Anatoliy Kirillovich, how many days did the conflict last? When did you learn about it, when did you fly to Vorkuta?

[Belikov] I found out immediately, on 2 March. I was in Novokuznetsk at the time. I went to Moscow, and we flew to Vorkuta on 4 March together with the minister. We landed at night and immediately went to the mine together with oblast committee leaders. We went underground, talked to the miners, suggested that they come up and discuss everything quietly on the surface. However, the people were already worked up, and did not want to leave the mine without receiving specific answers.

So what could we do? We came to the hotel at 0500 hours, slept for an hour, and went to the mine again. We assembled all services, quickly resolved the issues, communicated this to the miners, and in the afternoon of 5 March they came to the surface. So, the conflict lasted approximately 3 days.

[Golovachev] What is your view of this entire situation?

[Belikov] Far from unambiguous. Many of the demands of the workers are justified. However, I cannot approve the methods to which they resorted. The miners had not exhausted by far all the opportunities for resolving this issue before they took the most extreme step, to say nothing of the fact that almost all problems could be solved at the enterprise level, and fall within the jurisdiction of the collective.

As far as the administration of the mine and the association, managers, economists, and many engineers and technicians are concerned, I will say it as it is: They did not do well; they fell far short of the demands of the time. How could it get any worse if the enterprise director himself headed the council of the labor collective? It was that kind of democracy.... They continued to use the command and administrative methods there, which were renounced long ago, instead of helping the collective to assume control of production. We know what the result of this was.

We will have to learn a serious lesson as a result of this event at the ministry as well. Apparently, we are missing something, sometimes failing to offer help to a collective on time, and to feel the pulse of an emerging conflict.

[Golovachev] As far as we know, a meeting of the bureau of the Vorkuta city party committee was held. What conclusions were drawn?

[Belikov] The method by which the miners fought to have their demands satisfied did not meet with approval at the bureau meeting either. At the same time, managers of the mine and the association, and heads of social organizations, were subjected to severe criticism for serious mistakes in their work. Director of the mine N. Tishchenko, Secretary of the Party Committee A. Borovinskikh, and Trade Union Committee Chairman I. Brazhko were given severe party reprimands to be recorded in their files. Measures aimed at improving the situation were adopted....

Yesterday, having completed the interview, we talked on the phone to Vorkuta, to the Secretary of the Trade Union of Coal Industry Workers A.F. Chebotayev, whom we also asked to respond to several questions:

[Golovachev] Why did the workers approach the council of the labor collective, managers of the association, and the party committee of the city, but fail to even come by the trade union committee? Does this not testify to the poor authority of the trade union committee of the mine among the workers?

[Chebotayev] Yes, this is indeed the case. From the time the councils of labor collectives were created, many trade union committees have sort of been at a loss, they cannot divide "the spheres of influence." Certainly, their authority has deteriorated. In this case, the trade union committee assumed a position of non-interference: supposedly, the issues raised by the miners were handled anyway at the council of the labor collective, the party committee of the city, and by managers of the association; apparently, they would be resolved. This is a very telling fact which does not give credit to the trade union committee.

[Golovachev] Have there been cases in which a trade union committee defending the interests of workers has come into conflict with managers of a mine or an association?

[Chebotayev] I am not aware of such cases.

I think that long commentaries on the events in Vorkuta and on interviews with the two managers are unnecessary. The situation is clear. Instead of actual economic accountability and self-management, the miners encountered a formal approach, rigid bureaucratic pressure, and old methods of command management. All of their appeals ran into cold indifference, lack of understanding, and incompetence. We may disapprove of the extreme measure which the miners resolved to resort to (indeed, it cost the country and them dearly). However, we cannot but agree that the bureaucratic stance of officials largely prompted the workers to do it. Yes, the collective has to assume power more vigorously, but it has to be helped in doing that, and conditions for this have to be created, rather than have artificial obstacles thrown up in the way of the miners.

Certainly, a considerable part of the blame for all of this devolves on the Ministry of Railways. What economic accountability can there possibly be if an enterprise is not in a position to ship its products to customers? The transition of mines to economic accountability is undermined, by this alone, to a considerable degree. The workers have to pay for it. Is it fair?

The economic, party, and trade union organs should draw serious conclusions from this event, and so should the labor collective itself.

New Measure Increases Access by Journalists
LD2103233289 Moscow World Service in English
0310 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] [Announcer] Well, our next item has to do with an initiative designed to ensure more freedom of the press. A new procedure of allowing journalists to the sites of natural calamities, industrial accidents, and disasters and other extreme situations is introduced in the Soviet Union. Our reporter has turned for details to the USSR Union of Journalists. The chairman of the National Council of Professional Ethics and Law, Nikolay Chetverikov, explained the origin of the new procedure:

[Chetverikov, in Russian with superimposed English translation] The idea occurred to newsmen themselves. What they were pressing for were the best possible conditions of work in extreme situations.

[Announcer] Changes for the better in this country, including openness and greater democracy in society, have given newsmen greater access to information, but as I understand there still are what are called closed zones.

[Chetverikov] Well, emergencies do occur, and it's difficult to give masses of reporters access to large-scale accidents, fires, or natural calamities. People working in extreme conditions need safety.

[Announcer] Will any special passes be issued to zones of this kind?

[Chetverikov] Issuing more special passes was not discussed. The system of passes still works in many cases. What we want is a kind of ID card, like the ones that exist in other countries.

[Announcer] Does the new provision limit reporters' freedom of action?

[Chetverikov] The ID gives one a chance to attend any event, guarded by bodies of both the interior and the Army, and opportunities and rights must be expanded, rather than curtailed.

[Announcer] But how does this document correlate with a future law on the press?

[Chetverikov] No law of this kind has been adopted yet, but if the law on the press provides for the rights that we want to uphold, this document will no longer be needed.

[Announcer] This provision was outlined before the Vienna meeting of the European Security Conference participants adopted the final document. Will there be any changes in this connection?

[Chetverikov] The final document of the Vienna meeting makes us take a fresh look at the provision. We are to complete it in the light of the Vienna meeting to ensure newsmen greater rights.

Soviet Foreign Broadcasting Service Profiled
PM2803133189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[M. Volkov article in reply to reader's letter, as part of full-page "Questions, Opinions, Arguments" feature: "'This Is Moscow Radio...' Are Our Journalists Always Objective?"; first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] *In your 15 March issue you briefly described the undeclared airwaves "wars," saying that for many years in succession we "jammed" broadcasts by "Voice of America," Radio "Liberty," "Voice of Israel," and many other radio stations. It is very nice to know that the ban has at long last been lifted, letting people figure everything out for themselves. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to read in your newspaper something about Soviet radio broadcasts to foreign countries. Are our radio journalists always objective?..."*
A. Maslov, Moscow

A. Plevako, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, laid all his cards on the table almost immediately—Soviet foreign language programs are broadcast in 77 languages of the world's peoples; a day here does not have the normal 24 hours—it may be hard to imagine, but there are 279 working hours in every day! The audience? 100 million listeners. Yes, people here on Pyatnitskaya Street [headquarters of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] are preparing for jubilee celebrations—60 years on the airwaves....

What actually "drives" this whole multistory talking behemoth? People did not bother to spoonfeed me information; I was given complete freedom to gather it. I called in at editorial and departmental offices, met with radio journalists, asked somewhat subtle questions, and caught myself failing to present the best possible image in this desire of mine to learn as much as possible, to collect—if possible—a few sensational stories for my readers.

"I won't try and be smart," S. Alekseyev, chief editor of radio broadcasting to the United States and Britain, told me. "Some 6-7 years ago we sometimes used to shoot ourselves in the foot, as it were. One listener wrote an ironical letter: At that time, he said, he did not have to bother guessing where the empire of evil was situated; all he had to do was tune his radio receiver to Moscow Radio, and everything became clear.... We used to paint the Western capitalist world in nothing but black, while unsparingly using all the brilliant colors of the rainbow to present our own country. Things are different now, of course, but at times we go to the other extreme. As one influential Western newspaper put it, our criticism of internal shortcomings is reminiscent of someone going out in the street and shaking a dusty rug all over himself.... This may have been put a little too harshly, but there can be no argument that people now believe us, as is proved by the numerous letters from listeners abroad."

As a matter of fact, the foreign broadcasting service mailbag is quite hefty: About 200,000 letters are received here every year.

"As a matter of fact, my friends," I. Jilkinson writes from the United States, "having witnessed the downright propaganda orientation of Radio Moscow's broadcasts over a period of 10 years, I cannot make up my mind what attitude to adopt toward your glasnost and objectivity. I would very much like to hope that restructuring will work out nevertheless...." A. Groeger from the FRG who, judging by everything, is far from indifferent, offers some food for thought: "...During the Stalin era Soviet citizens did everything they were told. There was nothing good in this, but it was convenient. A tremendous potential of passiveness built up in the USSR during that time, and how is this to be overcome?..."

A sound and long-standing tradition—cooperation with foreign journalists, politicians, students, tourists, and all categories of other countries' citizens—makes it possible to conduct a heart-to-heart [doveritelnyy] conversation with listeners about all of Moscow Radio's pressing problems. This tradition first developed way back in the thirties, and was consolidated during World War II when eminent representatives of the international communist movement—Georgi Dimitrov, Dolores Ibarruri, Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht, Maurice Thorez, and Palmiro Togliatti—established close ties with Moscow Radio.

Quite a few foreign friends can be encountered even today in the corridors and offices of the foreign broadcasting service. While in the Japanese Broadcasts Section I was introduced to an emigrant from this neighboring country who has totally dedicated himself to Moscow Radio. Okadan-san, as this pleasant man is addressed by his colleagues, has worked as consultant editor for many years, took Soviet citizenship, and joined the CPSU. His broadcasts produce a voluminous mailbag.

Western radio voices have often dubbed them "Moscow's agents." Who are they, these foreign broadcasting service journalists? Radio listeners are eager to know the answer to this question. When asked by CSSR resident J. Drahos "Why do you work for Moscow Radio?", journalist I. Chayko decided to devote an entire program to her answer. She spoke frankly about herself—having defended her diploma dissertation in the Slavonic Philology Faculty of the capital's university, she started thinking about her future work.

"As for me, I simply fell in love with India!" Editor N. Benyuk admitted in a conversation with me. "This gives me an opportunity to come into contact with Indians, to visit this exotic and most interesting country."

Starting this year, new programs are being beamed into the airwaves in all languages: The foreign broadcasting service seeks ways and tries to vary its forms of work. For example, the "Moscow Radio Business Club" has certainly awakened businessmen's interest. "'The future lies with Mercury and not with Mars!'—this is our program's slogan," the anchorman declares. "It is addressed to you, esteemed entrepreneurs and traders. We are ready to represent you in the USSR. If you are seeking a reliable and competent partner, if you are thinking about new spheres for the application of experience, initiative, and capital, we will help you."

Looking to the future, people here would like to do without budget appropriations, even if only partially, and are therefore learning to earn money. Previously the phrase "According to Moscow Radio" was taken to apply exclusively to the political sphere, but now it can also imply advertisements for goods, tourism, and so on. Foreign currency has already been earned. There are, of course, numerous problems as well. Almost everyone with whom I talked complained about the lack of sufficient information and of better technical backing. Editorial office leaders also spoke with alarm about the upcoming change of generations and the acute shortage of journalists fluent in foreign languages.

Preferential Treatment of Foreign Tourists Hit

PM2803123589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Letter from reader A. Ganin under the rubric "Reaction": "Preferential Treatment for Foreigners"]

[Text] I read in your newspaper under the rubric "From the International Departments' Mailbag" the short note entitled "Bitter Pill" (IZVESTIYA No 35), and, as the saying goes, I automatically reached for my pen. I very much wanted to write a few lines.

In 1985 I spent my summer vacation in Sochi with my wife. On the last morning of the vacation we arrived at the bus terminal 4 and ½ hours before the plane's departure (the airport is near Sochi—in Adler). But, to my great surprise, we found the same notices at all the ticket offices: "All tickets for all trips to Adler are reserved for foreigners." The cashier ostentatiously turned away as if to say "Why talk to you—you aren't foreigners," and my question, "What can we do, how do we get there?" was left unanswered.

Foreigners mean foreign currency. Every intelligent Soviet citizen realizes this, including myself. But, one wonders, for what purpose is this foreign currency needed? In my naivete I thought that it was for us, for Soviet people. But no. Foreign currency is needed to build good hotels (matching up to world standards) and to receive those same foreigners in them. But this seems somehow flimsy: So many people come to our country, yet we are unable to give them proper hospitality—matching up to world standards. Come to think of it, some of "our people" manage to get a few crumbs from the "foreign table."

We were late for our plane and spent 2 nights in Adler Airport. We had an "interesting" time—there was nowhere to sit, and my wife was pregnant. People, peacefully slumbering Soviet citizens, citizens of a great country, were lying (not to say lolling) in all kinds of postures and places.

Of course, you cannot publish everything I have written. And it is hardly likely that anything will change in Sochi after publication. Really revolutionary transformations are needed there. And not only there. But I think that the thoughts I have shared worry many people. And, of course, many will support me. I am convinced of this, since no Soviet people get any pleasure from such phenomena. And British people are hardly likely to react calmly to a sign in their own country waying that "All tickets for all trips to London are sold only to foreign tourists." An interesting question: How would the British react if they got into such a mess?

[Signed] A. Ganin, Igra settlement, Udmurt Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic

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* Man Accused of Slandering Brezhnev Rehabilitated

WA18000637 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by Ye. Chernykh: "Rehabilitation"]

[Text] **This is not about restoring the good name of someone from the distant 1930s. Viktor Asmolov suffered "for his politics" in 1984.... He was helped by restructuring.**

It was as though by accident that the criminal case was discovered precisely at the bottom of the cover of the journal POGRANICHNIK.

"Ay, ay, ay, Asmolov, Asmolov! You should be ashamed."

"Yes, I am ashamed. For his sake." He nodded at the cover.

There, under the photograph recording the ceremony during which the general secretary was receiving the Lenin Prize for his well-known trilogy, someone had neatly penned the following: "Toadies presenting the literary prize to the bureaucratic puppet Brezhnev, this 'modest,' wise, loyal, inflexible, and firm Marxist-Leninist, for the sake of his thick eyebrows." It was clearly signed: Asmolov.

Perspicacious Gogol! His comment in "*Dead Souls*" on the deceased prosecutor, an honorable citizen, about whom it had been verified that he had thick eyebrows, touched Asmolov's soul. Asmolov had written about the eyebrows of a living person at the very start of 1981, when many people, known and unknown, went on composing odes in honor of the wise leader, and only a few years later, after his death, "having suddenly recovered their sight," they quickly changed the eulogies to the exact opposite.

This was an inflated criminal case. Asmolov was being tried "for systematically disseminating verbally and making and disseminating in written and printed form works containing notoriously false fabrications which defamed the Soviet governmental and social system."

Zealous readers and admirers of samizdat, and steady listeners to various "voices," and omniscient literary ladies! Do not strain your memories. The name Viktor Asmolov will tell you absolutely nothing. He was not expelled from the Writers' Union because he had never been a member. He had not published a single book abroad, not to mention at home, never having written any book whatsoever nor, in his entire life, having published even a newspaper essay or article.

I shall disappoint readers who may expect a gripping detective story, with shoulder straps, secret signals, handcuffs, and prison gruel, or the latest exposure of stagnant life, involving millions in foreign and Soviet currency, splendid lunches, clothes, dachas, collections of automobiles and diamonds, or rollicking escapades of members of titled families. There will be no sensation.

"Official record of first class driver Asmolov, V.A., born 1939, Russian, nonparty member, secondary school education, married.

Comrade Asmolov, V.A., has been employed at the automotive base since September 1966 to this day. He has proved his positive qualities. He is disciplined, responsive and modest. He performs honestly and conscientiously all of his obligations. He fulfills his socialist pledges fully. He is technically knowledgeable. He participated in the 16th Traffic Safety City Competition. He has no traffic violations. He steadily works on improving his ideological-political and technical standards. He participates in the social life of the collective.

[Signed] Kivalnik, chief of automotive column, 19 April 1977"

How could this modest and disciplined driver, who was steadily upgrading his ideological-political standards and who had had no trouble with the State Automobile Inspectorate [GAI], commit a socially dangerous act against the Soviet social and governmental system?

This character reference had been issued on the request of the examining magistrate.

Shortly before that, the young driver Stepanov had shown up at the automotive base intoxicated. After abusing, in unprintable terms, Engineer Trifonov, and threatening him, he had opened the door and entered the repair section without proper authorization. Asmolov had been in the process of changing a shock absorber. With choice threats, Stepanov had given him 5 minutes to leave. Unwilling to get into an argument with a drunk, Asmolov had agreed and begun to tighten up the final bolt. Suddenly he had received a terrible blow on the back of his head and fainted.

"Heavy bruise on the eyeball, torn cornea and detached retina. Cataract of the lens caused by concussion. Partial atrophy of the main nerve." Many nights and days were spent in the hospital ward. There was surgery. The physicians were able to save the right eye, but this third-group invalid would no longer be able to ever drive a car in Moscow.

A criminal case was instigated against Stepanov. Soon afterwards, however, it was dismissed for "lack of corpus delicti." Asmolov submitted to the prosecutor's office his first complaint. A new examiner was appointed but the results were the same. Another complaint was filed and a third examiner was appointed. The circle was closed. The plaintiff wrote of this strange red tape displayed by the union prosecutor's office. This was followed by an instruction to investigate the case "with a judicial perspective."

The trial was held at the Frunzenskiy people's court in Moscow. The sentence was based on the story of Stepanov's drunkenness, cursing and threats.... The court did not consider the malicious hooliganism and deliberate severe damages. Everything was reduced to careless damage, for which Stepanov was sentenced to 1 year of corrective labor at his own automotive base. However, by virtue of the amnesty granted in honor of the 60th anniversary of the October revolution, the punishment was lifted.

Naturally, Asmolov complained to the court and the prosecution about the light sentence. At first he heard the standard reply: "There are no grounds to review the sentence." One year later, there were no longer legal grounds for reopening the case.

At that point Asmolov demanded that criminal charges be filed against...the lawyers themselves, for red tape and biased investigation, and against the judge for cover-up.

Asmolov's hand was not guided by the thirst for revenge in drafting his messages. He was not obeying the Biblical law of an eye for an eye. In his letters he frequently repeated an excerpt from a legal article, which he had adopted as his slogan. "The investigative magistrate, the court and the plaintiff himself, must proceed not only on the basis of compensating for the moral, material and physical harm, but also on the task of strengthening the struggle against crime in general, for the trial is being conducted for the sake of truth and justice, which are inseparable from each other." This statement, and not the bad nature of that same Asmolov, is the key to the behavior of many petitioners who hang around the front doors of institutions. Their character begins to worsen when, time after time, they are turned back.

"Proper steps have been taken toward individuals who have allowed slowness in their investigation and have made wrong decisions on the case.

[Signed] A. Rekunkov

First Deputy Prosecutor General of the USSR, 18 September 1975"

Therefore, errors had nonetheless been made and truth was on Asmolov's side.

He could have accepted the "corresponding steps which were taken"—strict instructions issued to many officials—had he believed that their errors were simply accidental or even due to negligence. However, Asmolov was firmly convinced that this drunken criminal had been protected because he was the personal driver of a high official.

Meanwhile, the rank-and-file driver went on fighting. He fought for his dignity and honor and for justice. More generally, he tried to defend not only himself, but many among us, against criminals and the inequitable actions of law enforcement personnel, and against "law by telephone." For impunity corrupts, leads to new crimes and to new legal "errors."

He began to address his letters to higher instances. Finally, he wrote to the CPSU Central Committee, "personally to L.I. Brezhnev." He hoped that there, somewhere at the top, they would understand, they would help. However, no help came. In order to understand what was happening, this former driver who, in his peak years, had been given at the automotive base an old man's job of "vehicle receptionist," began to closely study Lenin's works, particularly his final articles, legal publications and party congress materials. Suddenly, this visually disabled person could see clearly. He saw that the words of the country's leadership at the time, of paying attention to the simple working person, differed from their actions, and that the Leninist principles of socialism were being violated everywhere.

On the basis of his own case, which may seem petty and isolated to many, Asmolov realized the entire danger to the people and to society of the type of bureaucratic system which ignores all calls for help.

It was then that he wrote this inscription on the cover about the "bureaucratic puppet." Actually, this copy of the journal had not been addressed to any particular person. He put it on his desk. The relief worker noticed it and took it to his superiors. This copy was 3 years old. This was after Brezhnev's death, under Chernenko!

However, Asmolov did not conceal his thoughts. He did not impart them in malicious whispers, during cigarette breaks, but wrote honestly and frankly about everything to the various authorities, including the highest ones. For example: "V.I. Lenin himself pointed out that under socialism officials stop being bureaucrats as electiveness is introduced. In our country, however, the Central Committee general secretaries and the prosecutors general hold such most important positions for life. Naturally, this inevitably leads to the bureaucratization of the party and state apparatus, to abuse of power and official position, to a feeling of impunity, and to instilling favoritism, nepotism, toadying, subservience, and mutual guarantees."

Having experienced social injustice, scarcity of products, goods and housing, lines, low standards of medical services, high infant mortality, and other negative phenomena which imperceptibly increased during the period of stagnation and which led the country to a crisis, we began to turn to the Leninist legacy not for the sake of passing exams at evening Marxism-Leninism universities, but in search of answers to the question of "how to go on living?" The struggle against bureaucratism has been declared on the highest levels. We are beginning to build a state of law, and a political reform is under way. The position of general secretary is no longer "for life." And the thoughts expressed by Asmolov several years ago do not appear seditious.

On the contrary, today the sentence passed by the Moscow city court in the summer of 1984 seems strange.

Thus, what were these "works defaming the Soviet governmental and social system," unknown to the literary world, for which the former driver was tried?

"From 1978 to 1984 Asmolov wrote and typed letters addressed to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Prosecutor General's Office, the chief military prosecutor's office, the USSR MVD, and to the AUCCTU, slandering the personnel of such institutions, accusing them of being bureaucrats."

The revenge of the bureaucracy was harsh. Asmolov returned home 1 and ½ years later.

Changes were taking place throughout the country, thanks to which Viktor Alekseyevich was freed. He read the papers, looked at television, amazed at what was happening and...kept silent. This lasted 2 and ½ years. It was only after the 19th party conference that he finally believed in restructuring and in the irreversibility of change, and wrote a detailed letter to the CPSU Central Committee describing his hard life.

The court collegium in charge of criminal cases of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Court considered the case, based on the protest filed by N.S. Trubin, interim RSFSR prosecutor, concerning the decision of the Moscow city court dated 15 July 1984.

The objection filed by the interim RSFSR prosecutor raised the question of repealing the decision of the court and discontinuing the case for lack of corpus delicti.

The court collegium deems that the objection must be satisfied.

The content of the letters written by Asmolov show that he was displeased with the sentence which the court imposed on Stepanov, who had damaged Asmolov's eye. In this connection he had labeled as bureaucrats the personnel of establishments involved in the Stepanov case. Such statements cannot be considered slanderous or classified as clearly false fabrications which defamed the Soviet governmental and social system. Nor can the inscription made by Asmolov on the cover of the POGRANICHNIK journal under Brezhnev's photographs be viewed as a dissemination of clearly false fabrications which defame the Soviet state and social system, for that statement was written about a person and not the state.

Notified of his rehabilitation, Viktor Alekseyevich addressed himself to the USSR Ministry of Justice. Was it fair to keep in his position the judge who had tried the criminal case in the summer of 1984? For that judge could wreck the lives of other innocent people. Is this question difficult?

* Mexican Involved in Attempt on Trotskiy's Life

WA18000639 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by S. Zavorotnyy: "He Shot at Trotskiy"]

[Text] It was a warm August day in 1978. Friends were coming to the studio of David Alfaro Siqueros. The artist put his paints and brushes aside and my colleague, a PRAVDA correspondent L. Maksimenko, took out his camera. The shutter clicked....

Looking out from the photograph is a man who is tired after a life lived turbulently and brilliantly. In recent years he had frequently had to be by himself. The artist knew that he was incurably ill. Cancer. He had worked hard. But he had never changed his custom of greeting his friends warmly. He was an extraordinary storyteller. Episodes of the artist's participation in the Mexican revolution and battles against fascism in republican Spain would come to life before his listeners. There was only one page of his past the artist did not like to recall. It was related to his participation in an attempt on the life of L.D. Trotskiy.

The life paths of these two so dissimilar people lay distant from one another. The village of Yanovka in Kherson Province where Trotskiy was born was separated from the estate of uncle Siqueros in the state of Chihuahua by thousands of kilometers of land and ocean. It would seem that nothing could be farther! And different things awaited them in their futures. David was awaited by the destiny of a rich heir and landowner. Lev could hope for a small amount of assistance from his father. He was the manager of a poor little village belonging to a retired colonel. And they would not have departed, their paths would not have crossed, were it not for the revolution.

More precisely—two revolutions. The Mexican Revolution of 1910-1917 and the October revolution of 1917. Trotskiy and Siqueros, having left their homes and families, gave up their birthrights and without a backward glance threw themselves into the turbulent revolutionary currents that were raging in Russia and Mexico. Young and brave, both of them threw themselves into revolutionary work. They lived for it. They believed in their dream of bringing people happiness. And they defended this belief with weapons in their hands.

If destiny had brought them together in 1917 Trotskiy and Siqueros would most likely have shaken hands. But history does not have an inclination toward conciliation. But still there was a chance for them to meet.

Siqueros came to Moscow for the first time at the end of 1927. He was a delegate to the congress of the Trade Union International. Throughout the May Day demonstration he stood in Red Square infected by the enthusiasm of the exultant crowd. He was happy because he had seen a piece of the future which, he believed, awaited his country as well. Echoes of the campaign against Trotskiy developing at that time reached his ears. Siqueros could not understand the differences between the former people's commissar for military affairs and the other members of the Politburo. But what difference did it make when with all his heart he was on the side of those who so warmly greeted the demonstrators in Red Square. Trotskiy was not among them.

Stalin received the artist personally. In addition to Siqueros he invited another, no less famous Mexican artist, Diego Rivera, and the poet Vladimir Mayakovskiy to the meeting. The last acted as interpreter. This meeting made a deep impression on Siqueros. Later in his memoirs he tried to reproduce verbatim what Stalin said at that time. As concerns Diego Rivera, the General Secretary's ideas to the effect that all the "isms" pertain more to the dying classes of capitalism than to the emerging new proletarian culture made him disenchanted. It is probably no accident that after this conversation with Stalin the paths of the two Mexican artists with names known throughout the world diverged in two diametrically opposed directions. Siqueros became irreconcilable to all of Stalin's enemies, utterly believing the axiom: He who is not with us is against us. Rivera considered this truth to be too simple to be used as a guide for life. The artist could never get into his head the need for political massacre of all who disagreed with Stalin's line. Rivera thought that in life, as in monumental paintings, there should be room for everything: both love for the Soviet Union and compassion for Trotskiy's fate. This is why, having learned that the latter had been exiled to Norway and that neither France nor England nor the United States would give refuge to Trotskiy's family, legitimately fearing the wrath of the Soviet Union, Rivera, sick and running a high temperature, went to the president of Mexico Lazaro Cardenas and persuaded him to give political asylum to Stalin's enemy.

It was not easy for Cardenas to decide on this step. The Mexican diplomatic representations in Warsaw and Sweden announced that Trotskiy was professing the "idea of world revolution" and therefore his arrival in Mexico "presents a threat to stability in the country." It was said that giving shelter to Trotskiy and his wife, "the vilest enemies of Stalin," would be regarded by the "Soviets as a profoundly hostile step." Only one circumstance consoled them: at the time diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Mexico had been severed. Mexican diplomats warned that Trotskiy's arrival in the country would cause a storm of protest from the left. Here they were not mistaken. As soon as news of this was made public, the somnolent silence in the offices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was broken by a flow of petitions and telegrams with protests regarding this decision.

But all of this did not keep the Norwegian tanker (Ruf) from setting out on a course toward the Mexican shores on 19 December 1937—on board the ship, in addition to the crew, was Lev Trotskiy and his wife Natalya Sedova. People were most attentive to the passengers. According to his old habit, Trotskiy kept a diary. On the fourth day of the journey the ship radio station received a radiogram for him from an American publication requesting an interview. Here is what he wrote in his diary regarding this:

"The police officer who is accompanying us, when giving me the telegram, expressed his regret that the instructions he received from Oslo make it impossible for me to use the ship radio to respond." In general the passengers on the tanker were forbidden contact with the outside world. The ship's route was also kept strictly secret.

Having taken the Trotskiys beyond their borders the Norwegian authorities could finally breathe easily. The constant pressure from the Soviet Union through diplomatic channels demanding that Trotskiy be exiled from the country came to an end. The noisy protests from the local Communist Party died down. The Norwegian fascists who were threatening to do physical violence to Trotskiy also calmed down.

During this time passengers of the tanker (Ruf), isolated from the rest of the world, did not even suspect the passions that were at play on the pages of the Mexican press as they approached the shores of the New World. Pouring oil onto the fire, newspapers of the capital announced that soon the "center of the forthcoming revolution will shift to Mexico." In issue after issue they published protests from social and trade union organizations. In these Trotskiy was accused of all the mortal sins, beginning with the murder of Kirov and ending with the agreement with fascist Germany. The Mexican Communist Party threatened that it would appeal to the masses "to take advantage of all available means so that Trotskiy would not set foot on Mexican territory."

But after 20 days at sea the tanker (Ruf) entered the peaceful waters of the Mexican port of Tampico.

On the quiet street of Vena at number 19 a gloomy private residence is gradually aging. A solid high fence conceals the spacious garden, overgrown with agaves and cactuses, from the view of outsiders. A pale shadow from a thin palm falls on the gravestone, a concrete hammer and sickle, which has pressed to the ground forever one of the most contradictory and tragic figures of the October revolution—Lev Davidovich Trotskiy. This private residence with its lonely towers looks more like a fortress. Iron doors and shutters separate it from the rest of the world. At one time this was the outpost of Mexico. And the house served its former owners as a suburban dacha. Trotskiy had settled down in this private residence more than once. Upon arriving in Mexico he was a guest for about 2 years in the home of Diego Rivera. At the end of 1938 he had a falling out with the artist and the Trotskiy family had to leave the charming home. The empty private residence was not far from Diego Rivera's home. The owners were happy to lease it to anybody who wanted it. Trotskiy liked his new residence: comfortable rooms and large yard in which he had rabbit hutches built. In the evenings he would feed them himself. And the yard was planted in cactuses, so growing them became a new diversion for Lev Davidovich.

The Trotskiy family rarely left their new home. It was dangerous to do this. The voices demanding Trotskiy's expulsion had not yet died down in Mexico. Siqueros' voice rang out loudly in this chorus. Loudly because it was the voice of Siqueros. News that his homeland had offered refuge to Trotskiy reached the artist in Spain, where he was fighting in the ranks of the republican army.

The artist's confusion was soon replaced by hatred toward Trotskiy. The reason for this was the uprising of the Trotskyites in Barcelona. About a thousand people died in the uprising. For Siqueros the bloody battle produced the last drop that caused his cup of hatred for Trotskiy to overflow. In Spain the artist and his friends swore an oath "to wipe out the Trotskiy headquarters in Mexico at any cost, even if it were necessary to use violence to this end."

Siqueros was a man of action. Upon returning from Spain he rallied together a group of like-thinkers who shared his opinion that there was no place for Trotskiy in Mexico.

To begin with, Siqueros camped out on the doorstep of the chancellery of the Mexican president. He arranged meetings with Gen Cardenas. At each turn he openly declared that he and his comrades would not stop at violence to remove Trotskiy from the country.

Why did Siqueros have to make his plans to attack Trotskiy's home public? The artist himself in his memoirs admitted that their combat group in general did not have the goal of killing Trotskiy. Rather, they wanted to frighten him and force him to leave the country.

The public threats served their purpose. Siqueros was received by the minister of foreign affairs. His petition to expel the Russian refugee was rejected. But in order to mitigate to some extent the uncompromisingness of Siqueros and his comrades toward Trotskiy, they decided to pay a compensation of a considerable amount for those times, 500 pesos, for aid to republican Spain. At the same time the protection was reinforced at the home-fortress in (Koycakan).

There was no point in further postponing the attempt on Trotskiy's life.

During the night between 23 and 24 May 1940 a burst of shots ripped the dead silence of this outskirt of Mexico. Siqueros' group undertook to "neutralize the police" who were protecting the private residence. But the matter never reached the point of a skirmish. Barely having heard the first shots, the guard ran away. The bodyguards gave resistance. There was crossfire between them and the attackers who managed to get into the garden through the garage doors. With a whistle Siqueros' bullet tore through the window of the bedroom of the master of the house. Trotskiy's bed was empty. In frustration the artist emptied his Thompson into the wall.

To this day the artist's "autograph" is still untouched over the bed in the home-museum of L.D. Trotskiy.... I ran my hand over the chink in the wall. It was a good thing that there was not yet a sign saying not to touch anything in the museum. There have been many visitors. As for Soviet tourists, they are infrequent guests in Mexico. Moreover, with the mere mention of the name of this museum, our compatriots for some reason shy away from it, like the devil runs from incense.

Time has not smoothed out the jagged edges of the tear in the wall. Whatever they may remind one of, it is not Siqueros' words that he and his comrades merely wanted to "scare" the master of this house....

Upon departing the attackers opened frenzied fire. As a farewell they hurled several fire bombs into the garden. A stray bullet slightly wounded Trotskiy's grandson, the 14-year-old Seva, in the leg.

The local authorities easily arrested all the participants in the attack on the house in (Koyoakan). It was no secret to anybody who had fired on this private home on that May night. For Siqueros the adventurer, it meant a year in jail and 3 years in exile from his country.

After many years of wandering the artist, having furtively returned home, said that the occupants actually were there in Trotskiy's bedroom which seemed empty to him at the time! Having heard the shots, they hid under the bed. To the question of why he did not fire a round into the bed, but emptied his rifle into the wall instead, Siqueros answered that it did not enter his mind that such a great man as Trotskiy would be afraid to die and would crawl under the bed to protect his life.

Siqueros could have put an end to this entire story were it not for memory. During the last years of his life memory more and more frequently returned him to this May night. Did the artist regret this episode in his biography?

It is difficult to give a clear answer. In interviews and public statements the great artist avoided telling the whole truth about his participation in the attempt on Trotskiy's life.

Once Siqueros was invited to appear on television. The program was devoted to painting. Another Mexican artist also participated in it—(Vladi). He was born in Russia in 1920 and lived there until he was 16. Vladi's father, the renowned writer Viktor Serzh, knew Trotskiy well. Although he did not share all of his views.

After the television program Siqueros and Vladi were left alone face to face. They were not friends but Siqueros respected the Russian artist. And (Vladi) risked asking the great artist directly why he decided to shoot Trotskiy.

I learned of this conversation with Siqueros from (Vladi). That evening we sat in the artist's home until late at night. We were talking about Siqueros. (Vladi) could not forget the answer he received from the artist. He recalled even the details.

"Siqueros then looked me straight in the eye," (Vladi) began his story, "he was silent for a while, and then answered quietly that he did not know exactly at whom he was shooting. Catching my confused glance, he said: 'I read Trotskiy's works for the first time when I was in jail. Before that I knew nothing about Trotskiy. He lived in the atmosphere in which my party friends and comrades lived. We all hated out common enemies, traitors to the revolution. We supported each other in this hatred and departed further and further from the truth, from life, and from the facts. We were taught that the enemies kill. We believed what we were taught and did this. I think what I have said will help you to understand me.'

"Siqueros fell silent. He looked me in the eye, turned, and left."

But after that first conversation (Vladi) still had the feeling that Siqueros felt guilty before him.

Siqueros never admitted publicly that the attack on the home-fortress was a mistake. But he did in his memoirs.

Why are we returning to this forgotten page of Siqueros' past today? We are not doing this out of idle curiosity. It is important for us to understand what made the great master for a time exchange his paint brushes for an automatic and fire not only at Trotskiy but also at other opponents of Stalin and Stalinism in Mexico. Fortunately for Siqueros, he did not hit anyone, and this saved him from having to repent at the end of his life. Yes, Stalinism was partially a kind of religion for Siqueros, to which he was fanatically devoted. He was devoted because the great artist believed in the bright ideal of socialism, more than in Stalin. Defending his convictions, Siqueros actually strove do away with the Stalin's personal enemies. But still I think that at the end of his life the great master could not but see the abyss that separated Stalinism from socialism.

Economic

NATO Report on Economy of 'Certain Interest'

PM2903095989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by V. Chernyshev in "Dialogue" feature: "NATO About Us: We Provide Additional Details"]

[Text] In the 12 February "Dialogue" feature, answering a question from N. Dmitriyev, we described the NATO report devoted to the prospects of the Soviet economy. But at the time we only had a brief report from the Norwegian news agency. A colloquium was held recently at NATO headquarters in Brussels at which the NATO report, based on long-term forecasts by the Central Intelligence Agency, was submitted for examination by experts.

According to the assessments contained in the report, between the years 1986-2000 the annual growth of the USSR's gross domestic product will at best be 2.7 percent instead of the 4 percent projected by the 12th 5-Year Plan. But if the reforms which have been initiated are not brought to a successful conclusion and if the country encounters unfavorable climatic conditions, the gross domestic product growth rate could fall to 1.6 percent a year.

The report envisages three possible options: success for the reforms, their complete failure, and, finally, stagnation as a result of the blocking of efforts aimed at their implementation. In the opinion of the report's compilers, even with the most favorable concurrence of circumstances, the assimilation of new technologies, and the raising of labor productivity, "this will not be enough to reduce the gulf between the USSR and the Western countries before the end of this century."

According to the report, the USSR economy's agrarian sector must overcome five inherent defects: the lack of dependence between results and the remuneration of peasants and specialists; the poor quality of agricultural technology; the limited selection of machinery; poor living conditions in the countryside, leading to an exodus of skilled manpower; the absence of a system for training specialists. In the next few years, the document's authors believe, a 2.7 percent annual increase in agricultural production in the USSR can be achieved only if climatic conditions are close to normal in this period.

Well, we shall wait and see. The Western prophets have frequently predicted "bitter days" or even death for us. But, as is well known, these predictions were not destined to come true. At the same time the foreign forecasts are of a certain interest if only because they clearly show the "bottlenecks" and difficulties which we must overcome.

Agricultural

Arbatov Outlines Agriculture Plenum Tasks

PM2803144589 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by Academician G. Arbatov under the rubric "Party Tribune: A Word About the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum": "Let Us Return the Master to the Land"]

[Text] **The CPSU Central Committee Plenum has ended, having elected people's deputies from the party and discussed the problems of the further development of agrarian policy. We asked Academician G. Arbatov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and director of the United States of America and Canada Institute, to share his impressions of the party forum's work and any opinions which might have emerged in the course of the debates.**

First of all, I would like to mention the democratic nature of the atmosphere in which the plenum was held. As you know, the first question concerned the election of people's deputies from the party. The report delivered by V.A. Koptyug, chairman of the CPSU Electoral Commission, was perceived by many people as—to put it bluntly—unusual. That was, if for no other reason, because he informed those assembled of the critical remarks about candidates received in the course of the election campaign. It must be said that this frank approach by the report, extending openness to all, went some way toward setting the tone for the plenum's entire work and became an indicator of the new political atmosphere which has emerged in the country.

As regards the second question on the agenda—the party's agrarian policy—I would say the following. The plenum could become one of the most important plenums in the history of restructuring and could mark a turning point in the development of not only agriculture but also the economy. And everything else depends on this.

Why do I say "could become," "could mark?" This is not because the report and resolution have left any unclarities or ambiguities. This is not the case. The plenum unambiguously mapped out a sharp turnaround in rural affairs. It recognized the equality of collective farms and peasants farms. It recognized and emphasized the need for their autonomy in planning matters, and their right to dispose of the harvest and distribute revenues. The plenum constituted a very important step toward eliminating many bureaucratic restrictions and dismantling the powerful bureaucratic pyramid looming over agriculture, from the State Agro-Industrial Committee down to rayon agro-industrial associations.

If, nonetheless, I strive to avoid superlatives and bombastic words in my evaluations and forecasts, I do so for different reasons. Primarily because certain dangers lie in the way of fulfilling the plenum decisions. The same dangers that lay in wait for many other sound decisions by the party: As these decisions made their way "downwards" and "sideways" to reach the workers' level, they often got bogged down, lost something, and were even deformed. This remains a real threat today. Its source lies in the inertia, habits, and existence of 3 million deskbound officials and bureaucrats in agriculture. (By the way, the United States has approximately the same number of farmers who feed the entire country and produce surplus output for export, including export to the USSR.) There is also a danger in leveling and, frequently, in consumer sentiments, according to which social justice is perceived as equal remuneration for unequal labor, as a uniformly good (or even uniformly bad) life despite completely different contributions to social production. We are already encountering instances of direct sabotage of leasing and attempts to compromise it (the same as is happening to cooperative members and the cooperative system). Generally speaking, leasing—like all other new forms of economic management—can develop when it is not only permitted but also actively supported and "cultivated."

Furthermore, reform in agriculture will, of necessity, be gradually introduced. What do I mean? The fact that, judging by everything, there is no way to achieve progress from "enforced requisitioning" to "tax in kind" overnight, in one fell swoop. This will not be achieved without a somewhat gradual approach; it will be implemented through state orders. State orders will initially cover, say, 80 percent of some categories of output (and less of others). Subsequently, there will be—more likely than not—a steady reduction of state orders until agriculture switches to a new system of relations which would give the producers freedom and, at the same time, tremendous opportunities for specialization. As a result of this, the state will switch exclusively to economic methods of management.

This is natural. But there is a danger also lying here. As we have already seen in industry, state orders in the hands of the bureaucracy could turn into a real noose around producers' necks. The utmost vigilance is also needed here.

Thus there are quite a few problems and threats to be found along the path of leasing, just as along other avenues. Here it is especially important to stave them off and beat them off without losing any time. After all, the food matter is most acute and brooks no delay. We are in no position to ask people to wait for a year or two, embarking on an extended fast to give us time to deal with sloppy workers.

To put it briefly, the plenum is an important landmark, but it does not yet mark the end of the struggle to solve the agrarian and food problems. It could even be expected that, following the plenum, the struggle will enter a more responsible and maybe even a more acute phase which will demand efforts by the entire society, by each and every one of us.

When I say "us" I also mean science, including the institute where I work. In one of his rejoinders at the plenum Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev cited a statement by a participant in the recent meeting between party leaders and workers: Let economic scientists help the implementation of leasing. I perceive this, to a certain extent, as a challenge to our collective.

This is the spirit in which it perceived the plenum decision. As a matter of fact, we realized even earlier that we must provide as much assistance as possible in the solution of this most important problem, and we embarked on this work.

I mean primarily the study of other countries' experience, of anything that might be useful for us. In this regard U.S. agriculture offers a very interesting topic for research. As a matter of fact, leaseholders cultivate 40 percent of arable land in the United States; the cooperative system is widely developed in U.S. agriculture, and it offers much that is interesting not only in agricultural technology but also in labor organization, the farmers' education system, and so on.

In my view, because the task of reviving peasants' farms and transferring land on lease to smaller collectives and families has been set, the U.S. and Canadian experience becomes that much more interesting. After all, we are hardly likely to try to revive the old-fashioned and obsolete small peasants' farms. We are talking about modern farms, somewhat similar to the family-run farms that are typical of many foreign countries. There are things for us to learn there.

On this basis, the institute has already started work on studying the possibility of broad exchanges between farmers, meaning strictly working exchanges rather than familiarization trips. This was discussed on a preliminary basis with senior U.S. Congress officials (including the chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee) and leaders of a number of leading U.S. agricultural business firms. They welcome such exchanges.

As far as our own country is concerned, this idea has already generated interest in the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League Central Committee, the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, and a number of party oblast committees like Belgorod, Kaluga, and others.

Furthermore, new foodstuffs, already popular in the West but still not assimilated in our country, could be of great interest for us. Like breakfast cereals, for example—useful, nutritional, tasty, suitable for all, and ideal as school breakfasts. Our country has enough raw materials to produce them, and they can be stored for up to 1 year at room temperature. In order to bypass the food industry bureaucracy, we are striving to help the assimilation of these products into production through strong collective farms. We anticipate the signing of the first contract on such a joint venture next month.

Enormous tasks have now been assigned to scientists in all spheres, both in theoretical and applied research. I would like to hope that science will make a worthy contribution to the solution of the agrarian problem—one of the most urgent problems of restructuring.

Scientific

Stable Radio Contact With 'Phobos' Probe Lost

LD2803175189 Moscow TASS in English 1640 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—By a TASS correspondent at the Mission Control Centre:

In keeping with the mission's programme, further operations involving the space probe Phobos were conducted on March 27. On commands from the on-board control system, the craft was turned to automatically take pictures of the Martian moon Phobos.

After these operations were completed, the information was to be sent back to earth. But mission control was unable to establish stable radio contact with the probe as scheduled.

The possible causes of the loss of contact are being analysed and efforts are continuing to regain it.

Academician Georgiy Skryabin Dies 26 Mar

LD2803213989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1519 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar (TASS)—Soviet science has suffered a grave loss. On 26 March 1989, following a serious and prolonged illness, the outstanding scientist Academician Georgiy Skryabin, a member of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, passed away.

The obituary, signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and other leaders of the party and government, and by prominent scientists, notes the great services of Georgiy Skryabin in the development of biochemistry. He was one of the organizers and leaders of the Institute of Biochemistry and Physiology of Microorganisms, and for 17 years he worked as the chief learned secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Georgiy Skryabin's scientific work gained broad international recognition. He was an honorary foreign member and honorary doctor of a number of the world's academies of sciences and universities.

The Communist Party and Soviet state valued highly the scientist's services. He was awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor and was decorated with many orders.

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